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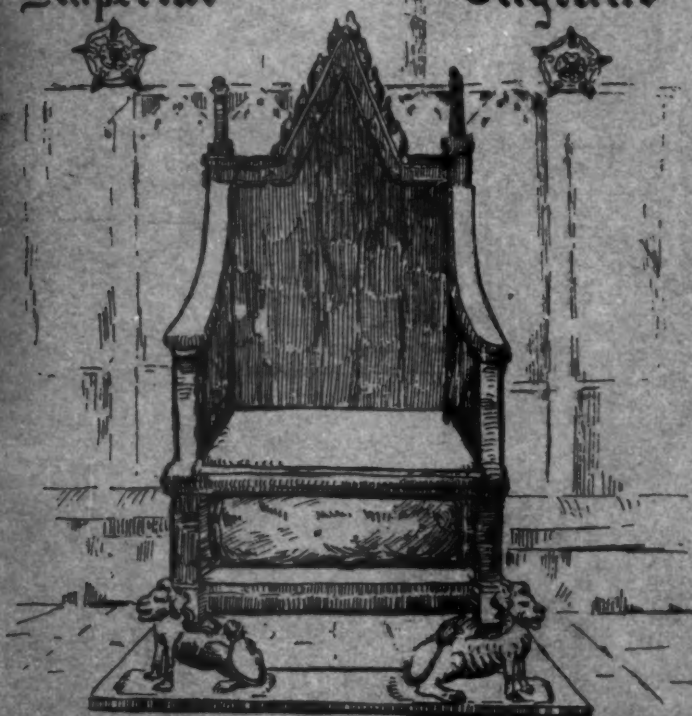
The Chautauquan

The Magazine of
System in Reading



Imperial

England



The Chautauqua Press

Chautauqua, New York

THE CHAUTAUQUAN

THE MAGAZINE OF SYSTEM IN READING

Official Publication of Chautauqua Institution

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THE CHAUTAUQUA PRESS,

PUBLISHING DEPARTMENT CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION.

Chautauqua, New York.

FRANK CHAPIN BRAY,
Managing Editor

Entered according to Act of Congress, Sept. 26, 1906, by THE CHAUTAUQUA PRESS
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CONTENT

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A weekly illustrated newspaper devoted to news of Chautauqua Institution; news of its home town, Chautauqua, New York; and news of its home territory, Chautauqua Lake, all the year round.

It will contain news of the progress of all branches of the Institution, assembly, summer schools, and C. L. S. C., giving reports and advance announcements earlier than has been possible heretofore,—of new buildings, improvements of all kinds, engagement of instructors, lecturers and writers, gifts and contributions to special funds—anything and everything pertaining to the development of the work of Chautauqua Institution.

It will represent the local interests of the town which is the home of the Institution, covering the business, church, school, and social life of a year-round resident population, already numbering from 500 to 600 persons.

It will endeavor to do all in its power to conserve and develop the interests bordering Chautauqua Lake as a territory that can be made better known to a larger public by the publicity which such a Chautauqua newspaper can give.

The property of Chautauqua Institution has grown to represent approximately \$1,000,000 in value. There is not the least doubt that the endowment of \$65,000 will be increased, for the permanence of the Chautauqua System of Education is questioned by no one. Progress of the "Forward Movement" for better permanent equipments will make news that Chautauquans will be glad to hear.

The centralization of the permanent offices of the Institution has increased the importance of the town. The establishment of The Chautauqua Print Shop adds materially to the local industries. Stores and postoffice (raised to the second class) are here in a modern brick building for business every month in the year.

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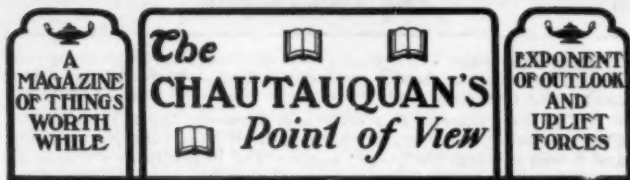
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The Chautauquan's New Form.

Commendations of the new form of THE CHAUTAUQUAN MAGAZINE come every day from every quarter:

Dr. Jesse L. Hurlbut, of Morristown, N. J., an old Chautauquan, member of the Pioneer Class of 1882, and a Counselor of the C. L. S. C. says: "I have always been a believer in books, rather than in magazines; and have believed in THE CHAUTAUQUAN because it contained reading matter as good as that of books, although in form of a magazine. Now that THE CHAUTAUQUAN appears in a form fitted to take its proper place in a library with books of permanent value and use, I welcome it, and am better pleased with it than ever before."

George M. Brown, Brooklyn, N. Y., prominent Assembly worker and formerly Field Secretary of the C. L. S. C.: "The new form of THE CHAUTAUQUAN is the neatest and most attractive of any magazine I know."

Some of our friends like light cover paper, others prefer dark shades; and we shall vary it. Two persons write that all edges should be trimmed; on the other hand trimming means that binders would have no margin to trim. We have received just one communication "deploring the change," from a librarian who reports that his five assistants were like-minded when he asked them what they thought of it.

Letter after letter received at the Chautauqua Press offices with orders commends some feature of the change in terms such as "delighted," "so much easier to handle than other magazines," "very attractive and so 'handy,'" "charmed with its small size as well as its contents," showing that we have inaugurated an extraordinarily popular form which has made a distinct hit among magazine readers.



What Editors and Publishers Say.

The innovation attracts an unusual amount of praise from other editors and publishers:

Printers Ink, New York: "THE CHAUTAUQUAN appears in a handy new tabloid size, its pages being reduced from standard magazine dimensions (7x10 inches) to a formal 5½x8 inches, or a trifle more than half the standard size. It is rather surprising to note that a page of this size, by leaving a small margin, takes an advertisement measuring 185 agate lines, so that although the paper is actually reduced nearly one-half, the sacrifice of space is less

than a quarter page. In the new form this magazine slips easily into the pocket, and ought to receive attention from publishers who cater to the newsstand trade."

The Bookseller, Newsdealer and Stationer, New York: "THE CHAUTAUQUAN, in its present shape, is much more convenient to read and it will slip into the pocket easily. The illustrations are now an interesting feature of the magazine. The publishers are to be commended for changing its size."

The Fourth Estate, New York: "On a newsstand its small form will naturally place it above its fellow magazines."

Buffalo News: "THE CHAUTAUQUAN comes to us in an entirely new form this month and one which will delight the heart of the magazine reader. THE CHAUTAUQUAN was first issued in 1880 and has until the present time conformed to the usual magazine size; now it has been reduced to one-half its former size, which renders it convenient to handle, possible to file and portable to a degree out of the question with the cumbersome magazines of the day, filled with advertisements and carrying only enough reading matter to escape postal restrictions. The present edition is further improved by the fine quality of paper, the excellent type used and the many full-page illustrations, some of them in color."

Cumberland Presbyterian, Nashville, Tenn.: "A form that invites you to pocket it and carry it along, and just now beginning a new year of the inspiring Chautauqua work."

Western Christian Advocate, Cincinnati: "The general reader will find this new form a great improvement over the form of the general magazine now current. THE CHAUTAUQUAN as now produced is of such convenient size that it may be easily slipped into the pocket and carried about. It is eminently readable."

Christian Advocate, New York: "THE CHAUTAUQUAN adapts its form to that of the volumes of the reading course of which it is a part. Thus it gains in individuality and practical convenience, being handily carried in a coat pocket. Now, as from the beginning, it is one of the best means of self-help which an aspiring person could wish."

Congregationalist and Christian World, Boston: "Pleasant to the eye and easy to handle."



Four Volumes Each Year

The following letter from G. G. Wilder of the Bowdoin College Library suggests another good change:

"I am very much pleased to see a magazine cut its pages down to a size that takes into consideration the reader before the advertiser or publisher. You have made a radical change and you have made a good beginning. Of course other things will suggest themselves from time to time that may be settled wisely or unwisely. I want to mention just one. How many numbers shall constitute a volume? Six, as formerly? You have in your September issue 136 & 16 pages or 152 pages of binding matter. Six numbers would

contain 912 pages, or perhaps more, a number certainly too large to impose upon the reader of the bound volume, and the contents of THE CHAUTAUQUAN should make it preëminently the magazine to be read after it is bound. Three numbers would give 456 pages or more, a reasonable volume; four numbers would give 608 or more, surely pages enough for a volume. While changing your page was a radical change, having three or four volumes would not be radical: the *Outlook* has three, *Revue des deux Mondes* has six, and so on; and the size of their page makes the number of less importance than in THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

We are thankful for the suggestion. Instead of two volumes a year of six issues each we shall number the magazines so that there will be four volumes a year of three issues each. September, October, and November, 1906, will constitute Volume XLIV; December, January, and February, will constitute Volume XLV and so on. The November magazine according to this plan should have an index to the volume, but printing of that issue is already too far advanced to include it. The index to Volume XLIV will reach all readers as a supplement to the December magazine.



Chautauquan Designs

Characteristic cover designs, headings, tail-pieces and decorations do much to give marked individuality to the appearance of this magazine. They come from various artists; some new to CHAUTAUQUAN readers, others frequent contributors in the past.

The upper panel, though varied somewhat from time to time to conform to styles of lower panel, has become a valuable kind of trade mark, and the original design was drawn by Lewis Buddy, 3rd, now of Dodd, Mead & Co, New York.

Cover designs now used are appropriate to the "English Year" of topics which comprise the main contents of the magazine. Readers of these pages will recall the expressions by letter on the part of subscribers that change of design was preferable to one cover design all the time. Consequently this artistic feature has been provided for. The effective cover for September was drawn by Helen L. Maynard of Chautauqua. The striking cover for October and the significant design for this month are the work of Mrs. D. R. Leland of Peekskill, N. Y.

Headings for the leading series and departments come from W. W. Fahnestock, New York City. The "Imperial England" heading merits special attention for its suggestiveness and symbolic detail.

Several appropriate tail-pieces and the clever "Highways" decoration of conventionalized crown, thistle, and rose, are also the work of Mr. Fahnestock.

THE CHAUTAUQUA HOME READING COURSE 1906-1907

ENGLISH YEAR NO. 6.

The 28th C. L. S. C. Year

The Chautauqua Home Reading Faculty for this year consists of

President Henry Churchill King of Oberlin College
 Professor Thomas Francis Moran of Purdue University
 Professor L. A. Sherman of University of Nebraska
 Professor Cecil Fairfield Lavell of Trinity College, (formerly of University Extension Society)
 Professor Katharine Lee Bates of Wellesley
 William J. Dawson of London, and others.

SUBJECTS

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---------|--------|
| 1. | The English Government | - | - | Moran | \$1.50 |
| | Evolution and actual workings of the English System concretely compared with the American System. | | | | |
| 2. | What is Shakespeare? | - | - | Sherman | \$1.00 |
| | Typical Plays Interpreted: Introduction to the Great Plays. | | | | |
| 3. | Literary Leaders of Modern England | - | - | Dawson | \$1.00 |
| | Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Carlyle, Ruskin. | | | | |
| 4. | Rational Living | - | - | King | \$1.25 |
| | Modern Psychology Applied to Everyday Life. | | | | |
| 5. | In the Chautauquan Magazine, (Monthly) | - | - | | \$2.00 |
| | Imperial England | - | - | LAVELL | |
| | The Expansion of the British Empire. | - | - | | |
| | A Reading Journey in Noted English Counties | - | - | BATES | |
| | Travel Articles in the England of Today. | - | - | | |
| | English Men of Fame | - | - | | |
| | Character Sketches of Men of Art, Science and Philanthropy. | - | - | | |
| | Library Shelf of Supplementary Reading—Round Table with Programs and Outlines for Readers—Highways and Byways editorials relating to topics of the year, Bibliographies, etc. | - | - | | |
| 6. | English Year Membership Book | - | - | | .50 |
| | Helps and Hints for Home Study. | | | | |

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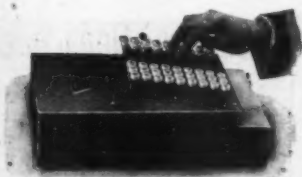
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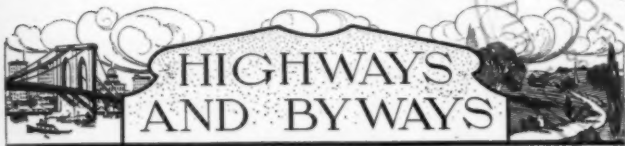
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The Great Dam, Assuan, Egypt

THE CHAUTAUQUAN

VOL. XLIV.

NOVEMBER, 1906.

No. 3.



OF all the state elections of this autumn, the most interesting, sensational and "pregnant" is that of New York. In Pennsylvania bossism and machine rule constitute the issue; in Massachusetts and Wisconsin the contests are decidedly confused, but there is a general feeling that such questions as tariff revision, direct primary nominations, control of corporations, etc., are the questions before the people of those states. In New York an extraordinary series of developments has brought about an unprecedented situation.

In the last mayoralty campaign in Greater New York William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper editor and publisher, ran on an independent ticket for the office of city executive. The "regular" Democratic organization, Tammany, which had renominated Mayor McClellan, assailed him with extreme bitterness and violence. He was called demagogue, unscrupulous self-seeker, and what not. For his part, Mr. Hearst with his followers, branded Tammany as a nest of boodlers, blackmailers, and plunderers.

The outcome of the election was a startling surprise to many. Mr. Hearst had some 225,000 votes, while the Tammany nominee had but 3,000 more—on the face of the returns. It was generally believed that Mr. Hearst had been elected and "counted out" by fraud. At any rate, the Hearst faction was certain of this and asserted that prison stripes and prison cells were in store for the Tammany leaders.

As late as last March Tammany held a great meeting to denounce socialism and Hearstism—treating the two as synonymous—and reading Mr. Hearst and his followers out of the Democratic party once more and finally.

Yet in September the Democratic state convention of New York, with the aid and influence and strenuous work of Tammany, nominates Mr. Hearst for governor and adopts a platform which, while still anti-socialistic, is full of



Charles E. Hughes
Republican nominee for Governor of New York.

concessions to the Hearst sentiment. And it does this in spite of a prior nomination of Mr. Hearst by an independent or Hearst organization called the Independence League, and in spite of the "radical" platform of that league, which demanded public ownership and operation of all public utilities.

This seemingly paradoxical outcome has been variously explained, but the Hearst movement was so strong in the state at large, and the drift even in the Tammany ranks toward the Hearst candidacy was so pronounced that the "regular" organization had practically no alternative. Not to nominate Mr. Hearst was to make Republican success a foregone conclusion, since he would have run independently.

It is admitted by all candid observers that Mr. Hearst's remarkable rise in politics is the direct result of the insurance scandals and the abuses and arrogance of the public service corporations. The Hearst movement is essentially a protest against graft, oppression and monopoly, an expression of popular approval of stringent control of public service and other corporations and municipal ownership of public utilities.

The New York Republicans have recognized these facts by putting aside all ordinary candidates and nominating for Governor Charles E. Hughes, the able attorney who conducted the famous insurance investigations in New York and drafted the several insurance bills—now on the statute book as laws—designed to remedy the glaring evils then revealed. Mr. Hughes accepted the nomination without pledges or

"deals" and in his behalf it is urged that he is a resolute enemy of graft, corruption and dishonesty, and that, if elected, he will attack official and corporate abuses with as much energy and courage as the Hearst followers expect from their leader. The picturesque and stirring campaign is likely to have national effects and exert no small influence on the next presidential contest.



Revolution and Intervention in Cuba

As late as the middle of August last the people of the United States were wholly unaware of the gravity of the popular conflict that was in progress in Cuba. They knew that the so-called Liberals were restive and dissatisfied with the government of the so-called Moderates; that President Palma was less popular than during his first term as executive and under constant attack for alleged acts of usurpation and tyranny; that the last presidential election (held in September, 1905) was asserted to have been fraudulent and outrageously unfair. But they did not expect an insurrection or revolution on a formidable scale. They thought the discontented elements would endure the rule of Palma and the party he led for the full term and endeavor to defeat them at the polls, in a legal and pacific manner, in 1910.

Apparently Cuban politics and American politics are two different things. The Liberals and other opponents of the Palma government took up arms and declared war on it in the latter part of August. Events marched rapidly. The United States, entitled under the so-called Platt Amendment to the act of 1901 (in relation to Cuban independence) to



W. R. Hearst
Democratic nominee for Governor of New York.



Assistant Secretary
Bacon



Ex-President Palma



Secretary Taft

THE CHIEF FIGURES IN THE CUBAN AFFAIR

interfere and land troops in the island for the purpose of defending her either against foreign or domestic enemies, of preserving order and peace and protection of life and property, could not remain indifferent to such developments. The administration evinced a natural and deep interest in the situation, but was extremely reluctant to make any move. It decided to watch and wait.

The Cuban insurrection continued to grow. The Palma government was absolutely unequal to the task of suppressing it. Property was being destroyed, industry paralyzed, and the Cuban credit collapsed. The Moderates were desirous that the United States should intervene, but solely in their interest, or in the interest of the existing weak and impotent government. The insurgents and their Liberal sympathizers in the capital, Havana, also favored American intervention, but with a very different object. What they wanted was a new election and the inauguration of a government.

The Washington government felt that intervention for either purpose would be wrong and dishonorable. Accordingly, in September, Secretary Taft and Assistant-Secretary of State Bacon were sent by President Roosevelt to Cuba to

tender their aid as a peace arbitration commission to all parties and factions—to investigate the whole situation and work for a fair, honest compromise.

Certain newspapers, politicians and others had meantime raised the cry of "immediate annexation." Cuba, they said, had failed; she was unfit for independence; it was a blunder to give it to her, for "sentimental" reasons, in the first place, and the mistake must not be repeated. We should intervene, annex and make a state of her under our flag, was the proposal of these elements. But the great majority of the people were calm, sober and in favor of keeping faith with Cuba. They had confidence in the President and his agents in Cuba, and they believed that intervention would be resorted to only as a last and heroic measure, and that, even if resorted to, annexation would *not* be its actual or implied object.

The event has justified them. The Taft commission failed to effect a compromise. It labored for ten days, heard all sides, proposed several plans, but all in vain. It found no issues, no principles, at stake. The differences were personal. The hatred and mutual distrust and jealousy were too deep to permit of concessions and lasting peace. The Palma government objected to undue recognition of the "rebels" and resigned in anger and pique. It refused to accept any scheme involving new national and provincial elections.

These resignations of Palma, his ministers, and members of Congress left Cuba without a government—in a state of anarchy. The insurgents were in the field; leading cities were threatened; industry was at a standstill. Secretary Taft thereupon "intervened" under the Platt act. He proclaimed himself provisional military governor of Cuba, landed marines to maintain order and issued a remarkable proclamation. This document is so significant that we reproduce it in full:

"To the People of Cuba: The failure of congress to act on the irrevocable resignation of the president of the republic of Cuba or to elect a successor leaves the country without a government at a time when great disorder prevails and requires that, pursuant to the request of Mr. Palma, the necessary steps be taken in the name and by the authority of the president of the United States to restore order and protect life and property in the island of

Cuba and the islands and keys adjacent thereto and for this purpose to establish therein a provisional government.

"The provisional government hereby established will be maintained only long enough to restore order, peace and public confidence by direction of and in the name of the president of the United States, and then to hold such elections as may be necessary

to determine on those persons upon whom the permanent government of the republic should be devolved. In so far as is consistent with the nature of the provisional government established under the authority of the United States, this will be a Cuban government, conforming with the constitution of Cuba. The Cuban flag will be hoisted as usual over the government buildings of the island; all the executive departments, and provincial and municipal governments, including that of the city of Havana, will continue to be administered as under the Cuban Republic; the courts will continue to administer justice, and all the laws not in their nature inapplicable by reason of the temporary and emergent character of the government, will be in force.

"President Roosevelt has been most anxious to bring about peace under the constitutional government of Cuba, and he made every endeavor to avoid the present step. Longer delay, however, would be dangerous in view of the resignation of the cabinet. Until further notice the heads of the departments of the central government will report to me for instructions, including General Alexandro Rodriguez, in command

of the rural guards and other regular government forces, and General Carlos Roloff, treasurer of Cuba.

"Until further notice the civil governors and alcaldes will also report to me for instructions.

"I ask all citizens and residents of Cuba to assist me in the work of restoring order, tranquility and public confidence."

It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this proclamation. It is an inspiring pledge of good faith with Cuba. It is worthy of the United States. It has offended the "immediate annexation" element, but gratified every lover of justice and national morality.

What the distant future will bring forth no one knows. "Destiny" will take care of itself; morality and duty are plain, and the United States has acted, so far, in complete accordance with morality and duty with regard to Cuba.

The following chronological review of the career of "Cuba Libre" will be of interest to readers:



John Burns
English labor leader. Given \$1,000,-
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December 10, 1898—Relinquished by Spain through the signing of the treaty of Paris after having been continuously in possession of that country since the discovery of the island.

November 5, 1900—Convention meets to decide upon a constitution for the new republic.

February 21, 1901—Constitution is adopted and the United States Congress passes a law authorizing the President of the United States to make over the island to its people.

June 21, 1901—Cuba accepts the conditions laid down by the Congress of the United States.

February 24, 1902—President Tomas Estrada Palma is elected President of Cuba.

May 20, 1902—Control of the Island of Cuba is formally transferred to the new government.

December 27, 1903—Relations between Cuba and the United States made closer through the operation of the reciprocal commercial convention.

September 29, 1906—Secretary Taft declares armed intervention by the United States in Cuba, as an absence of a government had been created.



The Politics of American and British Labor

We have discussed the significance of the decision of the organized workmen of the United States to enter politics as an independent and distinct factor. Since the leaders of American unionism have merely followed their British and Australian brethren, it is interesting to glance at the respective programs and demands of the great labor federations of these countries.

The American unions entered politics chiefly because they had failed to secure:

A strong eight-hour law applicable not only to government establishments and to contractors doing "public work" directly for the government, but to all contractors doing work for the government, so far as that work was concerned.

An anti-injunction law legalizing peaceable picketing and boycotting, sympathetic strikes under any agreement by any number of men or of unions, and providing that the conspiracy laws shall not be held to apply to any peaceable labor controversy.

The British trade unionists have a more radical and more comprehensive program than this. At the recent thirty-ninth Trade Union Congress held at Liverpool, a congress attended by about 500 delegates and representing over

Highways and Byways

1,500,000 organized workmen (and some women) resolutions were adopted favoring and urging legislation on the following subjects:

An eight-hour law for all workmen, or, to begin with, for the miners of Great Britain.



James S. Harlan
New member of
Inter-State Com-
merce Commis-
sion.

Compulsory state insurance against industrial accidents, to supplement the "universal" accident compensation law enacted several years ago.

Municipal banking and multiplication of public utilities on a larger scale than in the past.

Municipal housing of the poor.

Nationalization of the railways, telephones and other public service.

More stringent factory regulation.

Legalization of peaceful "picketing" and boycotting and of the calling of sympathetic strikes for any purpose whatever.

The British workmen do not expect to realize the whole of this program in the near future, but they intend to press those features of it which they deem vital and of immediate

practicability. And they have fifty-three members of parliament to work in their behalf in all legitimate political and legislative ways. These members are independent and vote "for measures, not men," not hesitating to vote against the Liberal government that is, in the main, friendly to labor, democratic and "radical." The unions are in politics "to stay," to use a current phrase, and they expect to increase their parliamentary representation at every general election.

In Australia the labor party is steadily gaining strength, and alike in federal and state politics "industrial" and social legislation, including public ownership, restriction of private property in land, development of state insurance and old-age pension systems, and control of trusts, is as prominent as ever. An anti-trust act is before the Australian Parliament

which is designed to prevent the importation of products controlled by foreign trusts and the sale of such products in unfair competition with domestic products.

In New Zealand, since the death of Premier Seddon, there has been a disposition on the part of the Labor party to sever its tacit alliance with the government and become more aggressive and more exacting. There is dissatisfaction with the Court of Arbitration and a demand for revision of the industrial conciliation and arbitration act. The general attitude of the organized labor of New Zealand may be judged by the platform adopted at a recent conference of the trades' councils, which embraces these planks:

Nationalization of land and of mineral wealth.

Nationalization of marine, coastal and intercolonial services.

Government State clothing and boot factories, flour, and woolen mills, bakeries, ironworks, and shipbuilding yards.

Nationalization of kauri gum industry.

Rating on unimproved values.

Stoppage of sales of crown lands, and revaluation of crown lands held on lease.

Everywhere labor is asserting its political power and presenting proposals that tend toward Socialism or state control and regulation of wealth distribution.



Government Railroads as an Issue

In declaring himself in favor of government acquisition, ownership and operation of the railways—the "trunk" lines by the federal government, the local lines by the respective states—William J. Bryan did not intend to "commit" the Democratic party to that proposition. The view was expressed as one entirely personal, the result of observation in Europe. Mr. Bryan was aware that many of the leading Democrats were entirely opposed to government ownership of the railways; he did not even intimate that he would use his influence to obtain the insertion of a government railroad plank by the formers of the next national Democratic plat-

her administration, finance, jurisprudence, and foreign relations.

The new reform decrees alluded to are the outgrowth of the commission that visited Europe and the United States early in the year and made inquiries into the educational systems, the political organizations and the administrative methods of the leading Western countries. They recognize that the laws of China are antiquated, and that most of her troubles and complications are due to the lack of proper co-operation between the government and the people. Accordingly, several commissions have been appointed to elaborate needed reforms, and the imperial decree vaguely adds that constitutional rule will be introduced as soon as the people have been educated to comprehend the new order of things.

Meantime correspondents report various signs of national awakening. There is for example, a movement to regain concessions held by foreigners after the manner in which the famous Hankow-Canton railway concession was regained by purchase from the American capitalists. It is said that all new enterprises in the way of public utilities are now being manned by Chinese themselves. Among other striking indications are mentioned the following: The establishment of hundreds of primary and secondary schools in the Chili province; the teaching of English in these schools; the order of the viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan provinces that the New Testament be taught in the schools; a decree making Sunday a legal holiday. In regard to Bible instruction a Shanghai correspondent recently gave these details:

The decree states that the permanence and high quality of Chinese civilization is due to the fact that the Confucian classics have been taught in China for more than two thousand years. But the viceroy admits that Western nations have some power which the Chinese do not possess.

He is sure that this is not due to any superiority of Westerners over the Chinese but to the fact that the Western nations have in their possession certain teachings which the Chinese have not yet mastered. He thinks this superiority is due to the Bible. In order to make the Chinese not only equal but superior to their Western competitors he orders the

New Testament taught with the Confucian classics among the 58,000,000 people over whom he rules.

China seems to be today where Japan was some twenty-five years ago. Whether her awakening will prove real and productive of far-reaching and substantial changes in national



Twisting the Lion's Tongue

Father Time (*closely examining small incision in tree-trunk*).
 "Who's been trying to cut this tree down?"

"Teddy Roosevelt (*in manner of young George Washington*).

"Father, I cannot tel a li. I did it with my litl ax."

Father Time. "Ah, well! Boys will be boys."

—From Punch.

policy and administration, time will tell. The influence of Japan, direct and indirect, will make for progress—the rest will depend on the characteristics of the Chinese masses.



News Notes from Abroad

One must go to the South Seas to realize what this single Englishman [Cook] did for the fourth part of the world. Spoken tradition and reverence for chiefs are strong in the islands, and time is always an indefinite matter. They talk, in Samoa and Tahiti, and the Cook Group, and the Friendly Islands, of "Tuti" and his times, as though the great sailor had visited those seas but twenty years ago. Relics of his visits are presented in chiefly houses, like bones of saints in a Catholic church; tales of him are told by old men in the long, hot, moonlit nights, as one sits listening to the songs of the coral reef, under the dark eaves of pandanus thatch. It may be because of Cook, and it may be because the islanders admire the British type in general, but it is certain that the islands of the Pacific, if left to carry out their own wishes regardless of political consequence, would vote solid for British rule. English in the east, pigeon-English in the west, is still the *lingua franca* of the Pacific Ocean. Natives who speak French or German always seem to speak English too, and in some islands the owners find themselves obliged to learn the "yam-talk," bastard English, which seems to be the only foreign tongue that the lower class of native laborer can master. There is a certain amount of ill-feeling about this here and there, but it is hard to see how the Englishman is to blame.—*London Times*.



Sir John Gorst has been appointed Special Commissioner to represent the British Government at the New Zealand International Exhibition, which is to be opened at Christchurch on November 1.—*London Times*.



The seekers at Tobermory for Armada treasure on Tuesday came upon another piece of silver plate, an exact replica of a salver recovered last Tuesday, which weighs fully two pounds and measures eleven inches in diameter. When the brownish coating was removed by hand, metal resembling pewter appeared, but after some slight polishing the pure silver was revealed.—*London Times*.



In England a committee has been organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to Livingstone in the heart of Africa, at Chitambo, east of the Bangweolo See, on the exact spot where the great discoverer breathed his last and where, as is reported, at the foot of a high tree his heart lies buried.—*The Nation*.



Miss Tabitha Spriggins, after many years of search at last finds the man she has looked for.—*From Punch.*

A correspondent in *The Spectator*, writing on the subject of bull-fighting, states that "several Popes have directed Bulls against this pastime."—*Punch.*

How unpleasant it will be for the Liberal gentlemen who have just been promoted to the House of Lords when they have to be abolished.—*Punch.*

CURIOUS TREATMENT OF A FAMOUS DEAN

"Dean Church.—The interior of Dean Church is being thoroughly cleaned and painted."—*West Cumberland Times.*

ANOTHER MOTTO FOR THE PACKERS

Omnia possumus omnes—We all can everything.—*Punch.*

THE DECADENCE OF SCOTCH HUMOR

"Parties wanted, with capital, to join practical man in the making of low yarns in the South of Scotland."—*Scotsman.*

By a stroke of the pen, President Roosevelt has brought about

an immense and much needed increase in the number of American comic writers.—*Punch*.



"FEAR NOT, TILL BIRNAM WOOD DO COME TO DUNSINANE"

"They then went on a short visit to Edinburg where they saw Windsor Castle and Stoke Pogis."—*Pittsburg Chronicle*. (Quoted in *Punch*.)



Miss Marie Corelli has written to the Press to explain that the scene of her new story is not laid in Devonshire but in Somersetshire. A rumor states that the news has thrown a pall of gloom over one of England's fairest counties, but does not specify which county.—*Punch*.



"My opinion is that in three years' time there will not be employment for more than three hundred veterinary surgeons. The remainder of the profession will have to follow the horses."—*An ex-President of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons*.

This is wilful encouragement of the grosser side of the meat-packing scandals. If you find a lancet in your sausage in 1909, you'll know what it means.—*Punch*.



It has long puzzled thoughtful persons to know why so many gentlemen are anxious to get into Parliament. Mr. Balfour, speaking at Dunbar, has now disclosed his reason for sitting as a member. "I have a weakness," he said, "for recreation uncombined with instruction."—*Punch*.



CLUBS AND THE MAN

["Nelson never succeeded in getting into a club. Today, however, he would belong to the Rag or United Service."—*Tribune*.]

Henry the Eighth never succeeded in getting into any of the well-known Clubs. Today, however, he would doubtless have been blackballed for the Bachelors.

Drake, had he lived, would have qualified for the Travelers. A similar remark applies to Columbus.

Beau Brummell might, in a lean year, have got into the National Liberal Club.

Wordsworth would, probably, have had aspirations in the direction of the Primrose Club; rather as a place of call on his way up to the Lakes than for any political purpose.

The Primrose, off St. James' Street,
Was just, for him, a place to eat,
And it was nothing more.

Charles the Second would have put up for the Playgoers.

—*Punch*.



The Dominion of Canada*

By Cecil F. Lavell

Professor of History in Trinity College; author of
C. L. S. C. Book on "Italian Cities," etc.

IT is nearly four hundred years now since Cartier surveyed from the summit of Mount Royal the glorious expanse of forest and the mighty sweep of river that were part of an utter wilderness. The Pilgrim Fathers were yet unborn. Drake and Raleigh, Shakespeare and Spenser, John Smith and William Penn were names yet hidden in unturned pages of the book of Fate. Modern Europe was barely emerging from the Middle Ages, and the gallant sailor of St. Malo was himself one of those who were opening the world's dim eyes to broader visions and brighter light. It was not simply a wilderness to him, this grand valley of the St. Lawrence. It was the gateway of infinite possibilities, a new world to be won from Satan to Christ, from the dominion of painted savages to the proud lordship of France. But generations passed, and the patient, heroic Champlain, the fiery Frontenac, the indomitable La Salle, the gallant Montcalm, with their comrades built up a colony only to have it pass into the hands of the detested English. They were indeed attempting to create an anachronism. Feudalism even in Europe was in the last stages of decay when Champlain

*This is the last of a series on "Imperial England" in THE CHAUTAUQUAN. The complete list includes: Beginning of England's Sea Power, The Opening of the East, The Great Duel with France, September; Pioneers of Empire—Robert Clive, Cook and Phillip, David Livingstone, October; Dominion of Canada, The Road to the East, The Perils and Rewards of Empire, November.

landed at Quebec. To transplant it to the New World was as futile as to plant an aged, rotting oak in new soil with the hope of seeing it grow young again. The genius of Richelieu the pride of Louis XIV, the all-seeing brain of Colbert, the courage of generations of gallant Frenchmen exhausted themselves in the effort to achieve the impossible.

So with the defeat of Montcalm the task of taking their work and making it fruitful fell to the conquerors. The vast country over which Cartier saw floating in vision the lilies of France is dotted with the red ensign of England. The national songs of New France praise in liquid French an English king; descendants of Norman and Breton soldiers send up joyous rockets on the birthday of Victoria, and though the French of Quebec and the English of Ontario may at times rail and glower at one another yet they alike bear the burdens of their common country and alike rejoice in its promise for the future. The birthright of the countrymen of La Salle has passed to the countrymen of Pitt and Wolfe.

The discussions with which we are familiar as to the government of the conquered South African Republic would scarcely have troubled the world of 1760. But in any case the conditions of Canada had no resemblance to those in the Transvaal. New France was populated solely by Frenchmen and their families, conquered after a bitter and equal struggle. To grant such a province self-government would have been mere madness. And yet for England to adopt entirely and with a view to permanence the autocratic government and feudal forms of France would have been self-contradictory. So the question was settled as was to be expected with a race not given to the prolonged contemplation of a puzzling problem, in a rough-and-ready provisional fashion. The country was divided into three districts with headquarters at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. These were administered by three generals after the well-known example set by Oliver Cromwell, with military officers scattered over the country to look after the details of government. But

practically, beyond a certain benevolent supervision, the duties of these officers were restricted to the preserving of order and the administration of criminal law. As a matter of fact things were done much as they had been done before the conquest. The church received its tithes. The landlords—the *seigneurs*—received their rents in kind and in service. And priests, *seigneurs*, and notables constituted as before the actual heads of the people.

For a provisional arrangement this worked admirably. If the people had no rights beyond the moral right of fair treatment they had no more than that under the old régime. The misgovernment of their last Intendant, the infamous Bigot, might well make them contrast the justice and business-like orderliness of the new rule with the confusion and the oppression of the war days, and for a time there was contentment. But the inevitable happened. Immigrants from the British Islands drifted across the Atlantic—"men of mean education, traders, mechanics, publicans, followers of the army," as Governor Murray contemptuously called them—who clamored at once for a share in the government. And the French themselves began to catch something of the spirit of their new flag and murmur for privileges of which they and their fathers had known nothing for generations. The more active minded among them realized that military government under the British flag and in America was an anomaly. The educated men of New France were not unaware of the ideas of Montesquieu, nor were they wholly out of touch with the currents of thought that were carrying the countrymen of Voltaire and Rousseau to the whirlpool of the Revolution. Vague theories and aspirations regarding individual liberty were quickened into practical life by the fortune of war that made them the political heirs of Simon de Montfort and Oliver Cromwell. And the citizens of Montreal and Quebec began to agitate for relief from the pressure of a better government than any the French race had enjoyed since the time of Colbert.

And the strange part of it is that at the bottom the

demand for a measure of self-government was based on a sound principle. The answer to the agitators that would point to the oppression and autocracy of the old régime was no answer. The French flag had given place to the English. A line of argument that befitted the government of Louis XV could not be used without shame even by the administration of Lord North. For the conquerors to adopt the political ideals of the conquered would have been an absurdity—treason to the best traditions of the race. Sooner or later, if England remained England, the soldiers of Montcalm and their sons would have to be allowed a share in the government of their country such as Montcalm himself would never have given them. But such a principle by no means appeared in tangible shape before the minds of English statesmen. Englishmen only consent to theorize about politics long after their practical sense of what is worth while and what is possible has enabled them to hammer and blunder and hew through a problem to a triumphant serenity. Our notion of the place of Magna Charta in English history would have greatly bewildered any of the stalwart barons who saw King John sign it at Runnymede. And our interpretation of English liberty would have been shocking enough to George III. But the fact remains that without any clearly formed principle to justify them, the advisers of the very king who drove the American colonies into revolt took steps in Canada which meant concessions at once, and in time representative self-government.

So in the fall of 1763, while the war with Pontiac was still shaking the newly conquered province, a royal proclamation established four new governments in America, one of which was Quebec. The governors were empowered to summon general assemblies and to make laws *with the consent of the representatives of the people*. The existing laws of England requiring the oath of supremacy and a declaration against transubstantiation made the proclamation really a dead letter, indeed, but the intention is obvious nevertheless. And the interest of it is not lessened by the fact

that it was issued only a year and a half before the Stamp Act, while George Grenville was First Minister of the Crown. No assembly, as a matter of fact, ever met, and government in Canada from 1763 to 1774 was actually conducted by a Governor-General (Murray, a man of high principles and ability) and an executive council chosen by him from the leading men of the colony. So that while during this time there was good government, yet no one could view the matter as being settled. The English-speaking residents, still few in number but steadily increasing, wanted English law and English judges and officials. Petitions were sent over to Westminster in both languages and with varying requests. And it was for the king and his advisers to determine whether this discontent was only the natural and temporary result of a difficult situation, or whether it was the sign of evils that could be remedied. In the latter event there lay some embarrassment in the fact that the demands of English and French Canadians were diametrically opposed. Neither the English in America nor the authorities at home cared yet to erect a representative assembly which could place authority in the hands of people only recently in arms against the country that now ruled them. Yet there was a certain absurdity and injustice in giving power to four hundred English immigrants and withholding it from the seventy thousand old inhabitants. Wise decision was not easy, and the men in authority at Westminster in 1774 were assuredly none too wise. But guided by the advice of at least some well-informed men, and impelled to some action by the necessity of preserving peace in Canada during the rising tempest in the English colonies further south, the government of Lord North at last passed the Quebec Act.

Important and interesting as this famous Act of 1774 is, it strikes one now chiefly as a device for shelving a problem too intricate to be easily solved. Lord North and Wedderburn were scarcely the men, and the year after the Boston Tea Party was scarcely the time for a really statesmanlike colonial measure. At all costs a rising in Canada

must be prevented from interfering with the curative measures that were being thoughtfully devised by a paternal government for the correction of the ills of Massachusetts. And it so happened that the very thing that would best please the seventy or eighty thousand French people of Canada could be eloquently pointed to as an act of signal magnanimity. Thousands of the earnest, justice loving people of England who were then as now the real backbone of the nation were watching with sorrow and misgiving the shameful conflicts of the House of Commons with Wilkes, and were trying in troubled perplexity to find out the reasons for the lamentable state of affairs in America. These might surely be placated by the generous spectacle of a conquered people being freely left with their language, their religion and their institutions, while the power of the Crown was amply safeguarded by the retention of all rights of government. But unfortunately the tribunes of the people and the greatest men in the British Parliament—Chatham, Barré, Burke, and their like—were all against the act, and if it was scarcely the “cruel and odious measure” that Chatham called it, yet little inclination was displayed to pay reverence to that most contemptible of cabinets as a group of philanthropists. For in establishing French civil law and making no provision whatever for self-government it betrayed entire blindness to the possibility of future English immigration into the glorious valley and the vast country beyond. It not only handed over the English who were already settled in New France to French law, but extended the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi on the one hand and the Hudson’s Bay Territory on the other. And it made permanent the very things that stood in the way of the healthy development of Canada as a British colony,—the French language, French law, and French institutions. That is to say, it was an act passed for immediate results. It assumed that conditions in Canada were static. It ignored the fact that the future of America was to be in English hands, not French, and that all arrangement for the future should as-

sume as a certainty the expansion and the dominion of the race that had conquered in the great struggle. We need not blame the government of North for not foreseeing that which to us is simple history. But prescience, insight, permanence, ability to guide a nation's councils in harmony with great lines of advance,—these are criteria of statesmanship, and judged by such standards the Quebec Act is a monument of unscrupulous politics and blind folly.

Nevertheless it did conciliate the French Canadians and when the forces of Arnold and Montgomery invaded Canada the sons of those who had defended Quebec against the troops of England now fought as valiantly against the army of the Continental Congress. So Canada remained outside the Union, and the flag of England still flew on the heights of Quebec when the treaty was made by which the humiliated mother country acknowledged her revolted colonies to be free and independent states. But that war materially affected the fortunes of Canada. Tens of thousands of loyalists crossed the line to keep their British citizenship. New Brunswick and Ontario came into existence. And one of the first and most obvious obligations of England to the sons who have sacrificed their all for her, was to give them the full rights of the citizenship which they had so greatly valued. Only Ontario, of the country newly settled by the refugees, was included in Canada, and as soon as possible the unnatural situation by which thousands of staunch settlers of British race were governed by French law and an autocratic government was remedied. In 1791 the Constitutional Act, as it is called, replaced the Quebec Act. Canada was divided by the line of the Ottawa River. The lower province was left with the French law and customs. But Upper Canada was made wholly English, and since in this English province a representative assembly could not in reason or justice be withheld, the government of Pitt thought it best to grant the same favor to Quebec. So part of the evil of the Act of 1774 was undone. West of the Ottawa Canada was to be English, and government by a

power that left out of consideration the voice of the people was a thing of the past.

It is an often-quoted remark that Britain's success with her colonies in the last hundred years has been in great measure due to the "lesson" taught her by the American Revolution. This is of course by no means wholly untrue. It was of immense importance that the destructive policy of George III should receive a death blow. But to suppose that the American Revolution taught the English people the lesson of colonial self-government is a mistake that could only spring from our cheerful readiness to manufacture large and impressive generalizations without facts. The American Revolution did, no doubt, end the reign of the theory that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. But thoughtful Englishmen who might have admitted this in 1790 might have suggested and did suggest as a corollary that it was therefore scarcely worth while for their country to trouble about colonies at all. Much actual money and energy had been spent by Englishmen in the founding—not of all the colonies, doubtless, but of many of them. Infinitely more had been spent in their defense against France. The contribution of the mother island towards the conquest of New France had greatly exceeded the grudging appropriations of the colonies. And now, an Englishman might say, even granting that North and George III were wrong, was it not a lamentable thing that twenty years after the fall of Quebec the colonies should rise in fierce revolt over a grievance no whit worse than was suffered by some of the greatest of English cities? At any rate was it not a thing that should cool the enthusiasm of any Englishman who might wish to tax himself and his fellow countrymen to defend a colony over seas,—a colony that might tomorrow become an enemy? Was it not better to do things in the Greek way,—let colonies form spontaneously, and let them be independent from the beginning? Questions most natural, surely, still asked often by those who are called "Little Englanders," eloquently asked too by men like Mr. Goldwin Smith, sur-

vivals of the great Liberal school of English thinkers and statesmen, who by their very indifference to empire did so much to make Greater Britain possible.

One other lesson was taught by the American Revolution to observers of a less liberal temperament, viz., the danger of giving a colony too much control over its own affairs. And it is this lesson, not the other, which is most evident in British colonial policy for two generations after 1783. The French Revolution, with its hysteria and the whirlwind of war that followed it, came hard upon the Revolution in America, and the result was the reverse of an increase of warmth in the British attitude to democracy. England had developed during many centuries her own type of liberty, and it was as a matter of fact nearing the culmination to which Grey and Russell, Disraeli and Gladstone brought it during the nineteenth century. But it was a type that relied for its strength and permanence not on high-sounding phrases or declarations of the rights of man, but on the cautious, conservative, progressive working out of specific points, the removal of one after another obstacle that stood in the way of free national development, the practical struggle towards a practical and fruitful freedom. "The Rights of Englishmen" meant a distinct thing to many men who would have failed to make head or tail of Rousseau and would have spurned with contempt the "Rights of Man." Now this practical liberty of England, shocked by the wild utterances and the terrible excesses of the French Revolution, underwent a distinct reaction after 1793. The progress of the island towards complete government by the people was delayed thirty years. And this must partly explain the slowness of England in recognizing the inevitable and completing the Constitutional Act of 1791 by the gift of responsible government.

To sum up then, after the American Revolution there were two characteristic views of colonial policy in England,—one, that colonies were not worth while, that they should be treated simply with courtesy, and that their way should be pointed towards independence as far as might be consistent

with the maintenance of good feeling. The other, that colonies might or might not be worth while, but that since they at any rate existed and since they could not be dropped without loss of prestige, it was at least advisable to guide them with a tight rein and see that they did not follow the example of Massachusetts and Virginia. These two divergent views alternately and in varying strength dominated the British attitude towards the colonies until 1840, if not for some time longer. Then gradually, hesitatingly and vaguely grew the idea which at last took shape in the inspiring phrases—the “expansion of England” and “Greater Britain.”

At the risk of being tedious we must make clear the progress from the *representative* government granted in 1791 to the *responsible* government which became fact soon after 1840. An assembly which has a right to make laws and control taxation is doubtless bound *ultimately* to control the administration unless it is restrained by a written constitution or by a higher power. In both Upper and Lower Canada after 1791 the English Crown appointed the governor, and the governor selected his advisers. The whole matter of the administration was thus removed from the competence of the Assembly. Given freedom of debate, power to make laws and levy taxes, an individualism as sturdy as that of seventeenth century England, and *no control of the executive whatever*, and we have abundant material for friction. It came in full measure, intensified in Quebec by racial antagonism, but bitter increasingly even in the English province, where an able, hot-headed, hard-hating, uncompromising zealot for liberty, William Lyon Mackenzie, led the forces of reform. At Toronto, the capital of Upper Canada, a group of prominent men of aristocratic tendencies became so invariably the advisers and informants of each new governor that they were not undeservedly considered a practical oligarchy, and were stigmatized by the Reformers as the “Family Compact.” This borrowing of the name of the famous *Pacte de Famille* of 1733 is no more of a strain than was involved in the application of the epithet of “Thirty

Tyrants" to a group of rival chieftains in a confused period of the Roman Empire. It simply means that an angry invective caught the fancy of a political party without analysis, and remains fixed now, not without a certain picturesque effectiveness, in the story of Canadian liberty. But invectives, resolutions of censure, fierce editorials, even threats to stop the granting of supplies, were helpless against the stubbornness of governors, the skill and watchfulness of the "Family Compact," and the indifference of the home government. Then at last the fierce temper of Mackenzie cast aside all restraint. With a handful of associates as reckless as himself he rose in armed rebellion. A French leader, Papineau, with even more reason, led a similar rising in Quebec. Only prompt action on the part of a group of able and clear-headed loyalists prevented Toronto from falling into the hands of the rebels, and bubble as it seems to one looking back, it was for a time a serious enough affair.

Now, seventy years later, this rebellion of 1837 has importance simply because of its effect on the government at home and because it ended an impossible situation. Seldom has so complete a fiasco accomplished so much. But that it bore fruit at all was due less to Mackenzie than to the change in the temper and point of view of the English people. England was no longer the England of 1776 or even of 1791. The great reforming decade of the thirties was nearing its close. The reactionary effect of the French Revolutionary era had spent its force. Catholics and Protestant Dissenters alike had been relieved of their disabilities; Parliament had been reformed; slavery had been abolished; industrial evils were being investigated and remedied; and in a few years Bright and Cobden were to begin their triumphant crusade against the Corn Laws. In the very year of the rebellion the great Queen ascended the throne whose name is associated both with the completion of British democracy and with the tightening of the bonds of empire. So it was at a propitious moment after all that the hot-headed reformer rushed to arms, proved his impotence,

and turned away angry and disappointed to exile. For the rebellion, if it did nothing else, called attention imperatively to the fact *that there was trouble*. It was a crisis whose settlement determined the future of the Empire. Instead of sending to Canada more troops and indignant mandates regarding punishment and repression, the British government sent out one of its wisest members—the Earl of Durham—clothed with complete power to examine, conciliate, and report. He did so, and the resultant report is the modern classic of colonial government. We need not here discuss it in detail. The essential points of importance are the recommendations for the union of two provinces, and for the practical end of the separation between legislative and executive. Quebec, associated with her sister province on equal terms, could no longer protest against alien rule. And though it might take some years to fully adjust the machinery of responsible government, yet the Act of Union (1840) was barely formed and understood before governors and representatives of the people had learned harmony, and Cabinet government in Canada went on thereafter as smoothly as in England.

In varying form the same story in essentials might be told of colony after colony. Those who accuse the mother country of slowness and blindness might just as reasonably pour contempt on Europe for not discovering America a century before Columbus, or rail at Franklin for failing to adapt electricity to our modern uses in the telegraph and trolley-car. We self-satisfied moderns forget how easy it is to be wise after the event, how the problem was one of which no people had ever attained a satisfactory solution, and how little strange it is that it should be only after the groping and experimenting, the doubtful striving of many years that the making of a world-wide empire, loyal, free and healthy, should be achieved by the English race. We may blame this or that statesman for this or that mistake. In no other way can we reap fruit from the experiments of the past. But at bottom the marvel is not that mistakes were

made, but that while England was still weary after her gigantic war with France, while she was still adjusting herself to the changes of the Industrial Revolution, while she was anxiously mending the flaws in the delicate machinery of her own constitution, she should at last solve ideally the problem of colonial government.

For as far as we can see now the solution is ideal. Those who prophesied that the gift of responsible government to Canada—unavoidable and on the whole praiseworthy as it might be—would mean independence, have seen the tie of sentiment prove stronger than any device of law framed by Roman, Frank or Englishman. Canada, notwithstanding the overshadowing presence of the great Republic to the south, has steadily grown and expanded until she reaches in one line of dominion from Halifax and Quebec to Vancouver. As Ontario outstripped Quebec, so that the French province became a hindrance to the restless growth of English Canada, a way was found of leaving Lower Canada her autonomy while still removing any possibility of deadlock. The British North America Act* of 1867 created the Dominion as we know it. One by one the existing provinces and those formed in the forty years since confederation, were admitted into the Union,—Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, British Columbia, and recently Saskatchewan and Alberta. A great railroad—the Canadian Pacific—was built to connect east and west. Under the tactful guidance of the greatest of colonial statesmen, the adored chieftain of the Conservative Party in Canada, Sir John Macdonald, the Dominion was gradually welded into a nation. And now Australia has followed her example, with the certainty that before long British South Africa will be as completely a self-governing commonwealth as are the two older colonies in America and the South Seas. Yet if an eighteenth century statesman could see all this the strangest phenomenon to him

*This Act is practically the Canadian Constitution. It was drawn up by Canadian statesmen and then passed by the British Parliament.

would not be the growth of the great colonies but their loyalty. They are nations within a nation. Held within the empire by no compulsion, paying no tax even for the navy that protects their commerce, free to levy tariffs against the mother country herself, the colonies are members of a free confederacy, each one filled with pride and hope in her own future, and yet each turning with loyalty and reverence to the island home of their race. The flag of England means to the Canadian, the Australian, the New Zealander, exactly what it does to the Londoner or the Yorkshireman. No race tradition has been broken. England has simply *expanded* and the British dominions beyond seas have come to be a greater Britain whose future is beyond the power of man to dream.

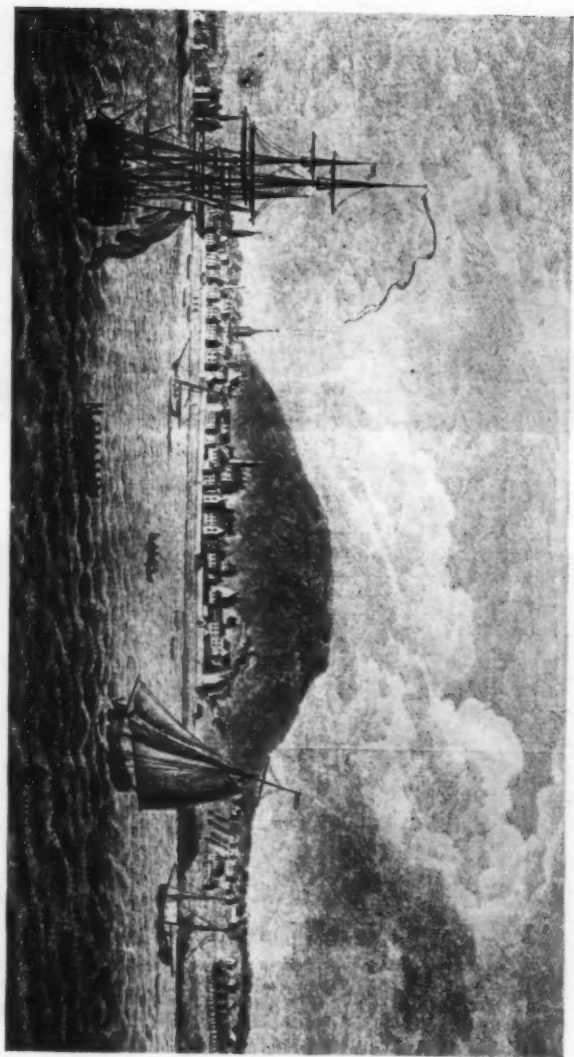


The Road to the East: Egypt

IT is such a delightfully simple view of history to make it logical, harmonious and consistent that one is tempted at times to wish that facts were less uncompromising. Feudalism used to be infinitely easier to understand when we could view it simply as a social pyramid than it is now. The development of the Roman Catholic church as stated by an Orangeman on the 12th of July is far simpler than the bewildering details of the annals and contemporary records would lead us to suppose. The theory that each nation has its infancy, its maturity, and its decay is so readily grasped by even the least discerning minds, has such a fascinating appearance of being at once luminous and profound, that even to question it provokes irritation. And similarly the creation of an empire such as those of Rome, Russia, or Great Britain has such an obvious analogy in its steady growth and its intricate adjustment of parts to the advance of a glacier, on the one hand, or the construction of a gigantic piece of mechanism on the other, that these figures of speech are accepted with little question as final and conclusive accounts of the phenomena of expansion. So perhaps we have been unwittingly causing doubt and a certain attitude of resentment by so constantly dwelling on the elements of the unforeseen, the accidental, the personal in British expansion. Imperialism as a policy, whether we favor it or not, has come to seem so ridiculously clear and simple to us that our mental processes are, perhaps, thrown out of gear by the needless introduction of the disturbing details. For, to be quite frank with ourselves, our conception of the thing itself has often been built out of words and ideas rather than out of a cold look directly at the facts. Especially and lamentably has this been true, it may be, of South Africa. It is scarcely less applicable to Egypt. But "far more mistakes," says Matthew Arnold, "come from want of fresh knowledge than from want of correct reasoning; and therefore, letters meet a greater want in us than

does logic." So let us look for a moment at one of the most instructive stories in the whole field of British expansion, the making and holding of an armed road to the East.

If we ask the question *why* England holds Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Perim, and Aden, the answer will be immediate and obvious. Take away her empire in the East, and none of these would be worth keeping for another day. The growth of Australia has indeed added another reason for an armed highway to the argument which would have been potent enough with India alone. But put all of Britain's eastern possessions together, Indian and Pacific, and they supply the reason for every fortress on the long road between the Channel and Bombay. More than this, they account for Britain's interest in the Ottoman Empire and her watchful hostility to Russia. So to put the matter briefly and to get our thesis clearly before us, we may say that Clive's defense of Arcot—the first step towards the building of the Indian Empire—held locked up in one fateful achievement not only all that is meant by British India, but the control of the Mediterranean, the Eastern Question, and the Egyptian Question. And yet this seems inconsistent, surely. A moment ago we were scorning iron-bound generalizations about expansion, and now we seem to look upon whole pages in the book of fate as lying bound up implicitly in the one deed of one man. Doubtless we are sometimes inconsistent enough. And yet it will be remembered that our warning was not against the effort to deduce from our facts broad statements of law and tendencies: that would be to scorn any philosophic study of the past; but against any attempt to build a philosophy of history on the hypothesis that man is consistent, and that accurate *logic* may be substituted for accurate *data*, that those who built the empire, those who fought and planned and toiled and suffered in India and Australia or the home island, saw and understood in one-twentieth part the consequences



View of Montreal From an Old Engraving.



Kingston, Ontario, From Fort Henry



Valley of the Ten Peaks, Alberta, Canada



Lake Ontario at Kingston, Ontario



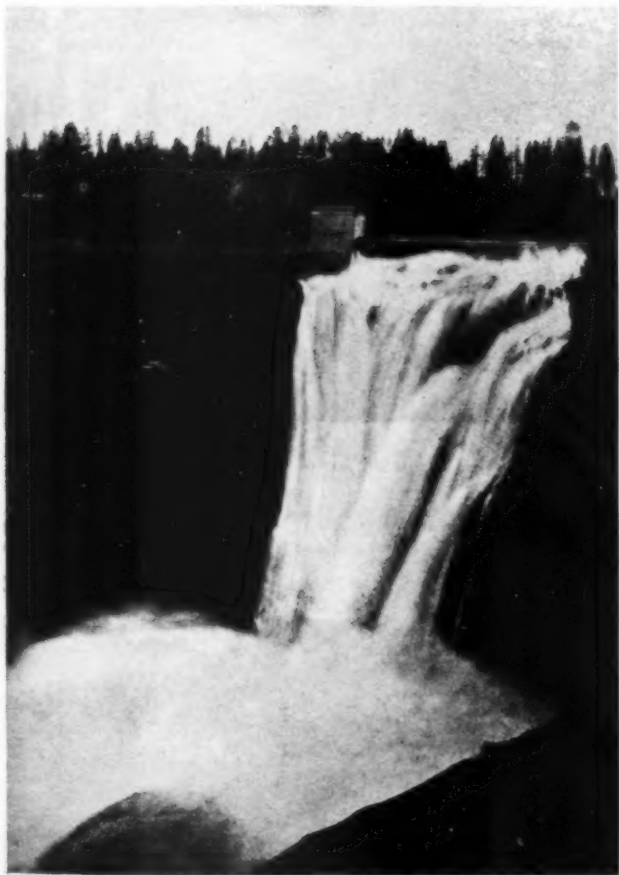
Mts. Fox and Dawson and the Donkin Glacier of the Selkirk
Mountains, Canada



Dufferin Terrace, the Citadel, and Chateau Frontenac, Quebec



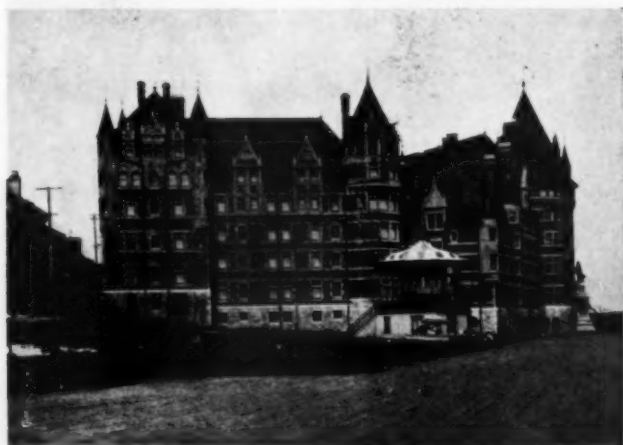
Castle Mountain from Bow River, Rocky Mountains, Canada



The Falls of Montmorenci below Quebec



Lake Louise Chalet on line of Canadian Pacific Railway



Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, modern Hotel Built on the Site
Formerly Occupied by Residence of Governors of Canada



The Citadel, Quebec



Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario



Herd of Cattle on Experimental Farm in Assiniboia, Canada



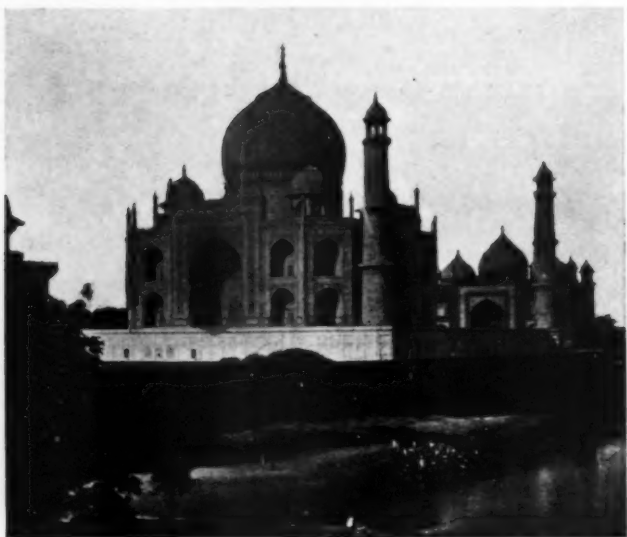
The Second Cataract of the Nile



Reaping Wheat in Assiniboia, Canada



The Citadel of Cairo, Egypt



The Taj Mahal from the Jumna River, India



A Canadian Wheat Field



The Hall of Private Audience, Delhi Fort, India



University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada



George Street, Sydney, Australia



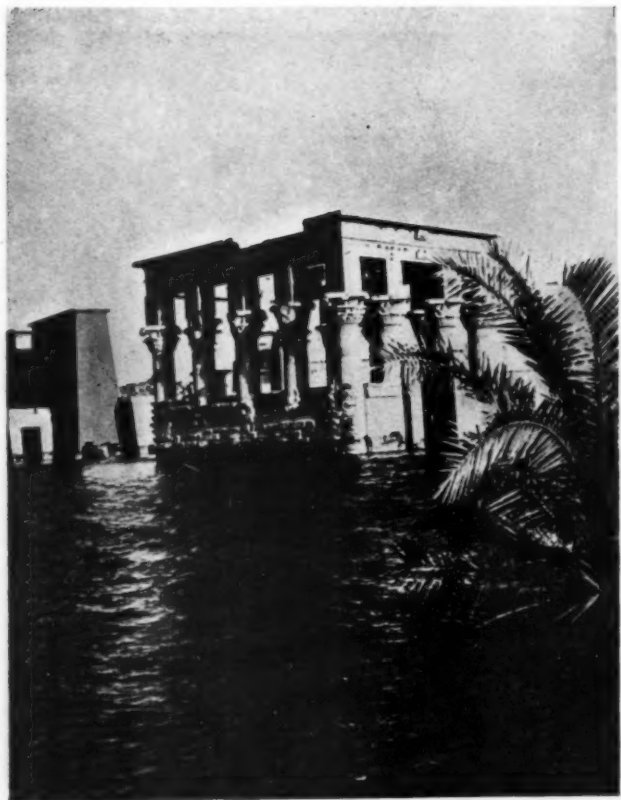
Town Hall, Sydney, Australia



Table Mountain and Cape Town, South Africa



Copyright, 1906, by Keystone View Company.
Mouth of the Suez Canal, Suez, Egypt



Copyright, 1906, by Keystone View Company.

Vestibule of Nektanebos Flooded by the Assuan Dam, Philae, Egypt



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On the Road to Amurnath, Cashmere, India

of their own deeds. We may see that the capture of Arcot was the first step in a tremendous series of events which have in our eyes the unity and coherence of a systematic structure. Clive did not dream that it meant even the conquest of one corner of India. We are but unprofitable students if we do not try to see life as a whole, if we do not keep in mind the first scene of the first act as we approach the crisis of the drama. But we miss the key to it all if we ascribe to the actors the planning of the vast creation that they, all unwittingly, helped to build.

Now to make still clearer to ourselves this so often forgotten truism, the blind helplessness of individuals in the grip of complex forces, and the other equally important and less forgotten truism that with the former makes a paradox to be pondered over, the power of one man to turn a lever that will determine for ages to come the destiny of nations, let us consider the story of England's relation to Egypt.

Between England and Canada there is no road but the vast highway of the sea, and of that highway there is no control except by a great navy. But while the road to India would also lie practically defenseless without a navy yet there is a material point of difference. Even the most hurried glance at the map will show us point after point where naval power might be powerfully aided or largely nullified by the possession or non-possession of a small area of land. At the straits of Gibraltar, at the point where the Mediterranean narrows between Sicily and Cape Bon, at either extremity of the Red Sea, a rival to the power of Great Britain might endanger at any moment that free communication with her eastern possessions which she rightly holds to be of such enormous importance. When Gibraltar was taken in 1704 this was by no means understood. The Rock was held for a hundred years as little more than a trophy, and great statesmen denounced its retention from Spain as unworthy of a magnanimous people. But the extension of Britain's interests in the East in the latter half of the eight-

eenth century clarified her vision somewhat, as it certainly did that of her enemies. Napoleon's stroke at Egypt in 1798 was evidence that he at least saw the possibility of striking at India by severing the chain, as yet unguarded except by the fleet of Nelson, which connected the British Islands with the Arabian Sea. And in 1801-3 England retained Malta chiefly because her surrender of the islands would have meant their occupation by Napoleon. So as the importance of the Mediterranean highway dawned by degrees on the statesmen of England the nineteenth century saw a gradual tightening of grip on Gibraltar and Malta, an increased interest in everything concerned with Constantinople, and a growing anxiety regarding Egypt. The southern entrance to the Red Sea could be and was secured in time by the occupation of the little island of Perim. But Egypt was no mere fortress. Egypt was a country of fame exceeding that of most countries in the world, of wealth, and—in the nineteenth century, thanks to Mehemet Ali—of some energy and power. She was a recognized province of an empire obviously declining, indeed, and little able to preserve order, and yet not so dead that it could with decency be dismembered. Here, then, was the point on the whole road to the East that promised most embarrassment.

In the fullness of time this embarrassment took shape in the form of a distinct dilemma. A French engineer backed by French capital achieved that which English experts and public engineering opinion in the world at large had pronounced impossible. In 1864 the Suez Canal was begun. In November, 1869, it was opened in the presence of the Emperor and Empress of the French and representatives from every power in the commercial world, and England's old rival in India, flushed with a just pride in the courage and skill of De Lesseps, seemed installed as the patron and guardian of this gateway to the East. It was a gateway infinitely more valuable to England than to France, but its possession was none the less welcome to the proud nation whose triumphs over its island neighbor had been so

few since the days of Montcalm or even since Louis XIV. England had had her opportunity, but the caution which so often has been her safety had this time betrayed her, and she apparently had to accept the consequences. Yet it is never safe in politics to accept a foregone conclusion. The emperor who so proudly presided over the ceremonies of Suez was twelve months later a broken and powerless exile. France, smitten and humiliated by the German invasion, by the Commune of '71, by the years of doubt that saw the launching of the Third Republic, was little able to watch over her interests in the East. At Cairo the spendthrift, irresponsible and picturesque Ismail, aided and encouraged by a joyous crew of officials who plundered and revelled at will in a carnival of prodigality, dazzled the astonished world by his splendor, his enterprise, his modern spirit, while he drove his helpless country full tilt toward an abyss of bankruptcy. All went cheerily until ready money began to fail. It became difficult to find capitalists who had a proper spirit of confidence in the Khedive's ability to pay his debts. And so it came about that the embarrassed prince bethought him of the market value of his shares in the Suez Canal, nearly half of which he had secured when the company was first organized. They were offered for sale. The great Hebrew, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, was Prime Minister of Great Britain, and before France had begun to realize what was going on England had remedied her mistake of a few years before and had become the controlling shareholder in the Suez Canal.

But already the consequences of Ismail's misgovernment were showing themselves. Egypt was approaching a financial crash that would carry disaster to every country in Europe and imperil law and order from Alexandria to the Soudan. Any catastrophe that would impair the efficiency of the canal in the least degree, while it mattered to Great Britain three times more than to all the rest of Europe put together, yet was a serious matter to the whole world. It was an affair that might very well be dealt with, if action

were necessary, by concert of the Powers, and this as a matter of fact was done. The oppression of Europeans by the demoralized Egyptian administration was checked by the creation of the International Courts, which removed subjects of the Six Great Powers* from the jurisdiction of the Khedive. And in May, 1876, was established the *Caisse de la Dette*, practically a committee appointed by the Powers to supervise the finances of the country and steer Egypt out of bankruptcy. A policy of caution and retrenchment succeeded the era of wild extravagance, but the inauguration of a sounder finance was not to be without difficulties and bitter friction. Ismail, without any adequate return in the shape of durable fixed capital, had, since his accession in 1863, increased the national debt from three millions to ninety-eight. His careless and lavish expenditure had given to Egypt the irresponsible feeling about money that comes from the apparent possession of vast wealth that has dropped from heaven. The sudden stoppage of the loans, the sudden cessation of needless expenditure, the ruthless decision of the *Caisse* that interest on the debt and—by degrees—the debt itself must be paid not by renewed borrowing but by taxation, meant hardship not only for the official world but for the people at large. The officers of government, the army, the fellahin were at once deprived of the false prosperity that Ismail had given them and borne down with the unwonted taxation calmly imposed on them by a board of foreigners. The sins of the government had fallen heavily on the people, and it is not to be wondered at that Egypt groaning bitterly under the burden and under the disillusionment, laid the blame on Europe.

The establishment of the International Courts and the *Caisse de la Dette* was obviously of little avail without some effort to guide and in a measure supervise the government which had proved itself so incapable. But such a task seemed scarcely to call for the continued action of the Six Powers,

*Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Italy.

and the autumn of 1876 saw accordingly the beginning of the "Dual Control" by England and France. Each power was sufficiently jealous of the other, it was thought, to make any usurpation by either one impossible. At the same time the International Courts and the *Caisse* protected the other nations in regard to finance and justice. Little was left indeed of any independent power on the part of the Khedive, and still less when Ismail was deposed in 1879; and yet so far no step had been taken by any power from motives of aggrandizement. All took the ground that however applicable principles of noninterference might be to other countries, Egypt was in a class by herself. Her position made her affairs of interest to the whole world. The accident that made Turks and Egyptians lords of the Nile Valley and the Isthmus of Suez could not, it was said, be urged as any reason why they should be gate-keepers between the East and West unless they were prepared to live up to the responsibility so incurred. "The inalienable rights of the individual," says Captain Mahan with some appearance of justice, "are entitled to a respect which they unfortunately do not always get; but there is no inalienable right in any community to control the use of a region when it does so to the detriment of the world at large, of its neighbors in particular, or even at times of its own subjects."* In which statement and in its application to Egypt there is doubtless room for discussion. And yet perhaps the reasons are sufficiently clear that induced Europe to interfere in the affairs of Egypt and induced England and France to undertake the responsibilities of actual and somewhat burdensome supervision.

All went, if not exactly well, yet tolerably, until the early days of 1881, when Tewfik, Khedive of Egypt, and the governments of England and France began to be troubled by the machinations of an Egyptian officer of active and energetic mind named Arabi. He was the center and leader of a movement that was perfectly natural and yet

**Harper's Monthly Magazine*, March, 1897.

essentially impossible, a movement directed against the foreign influence that had prevailed since 1876, and inspired by the war-cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians." Throughout the year the mutinous spirit spread through the army, caught the heart of the people at large, and finally seized upon the administration and tied the hands of the Khedive. Egypt was on the brink of a revolution which would destroy the remnant of Turkish rule and emancipate Cairo wholly from foreign influence. But what of the International Courts and the *Caisse* and the Dual Control? Let it be remembered that Egypt had been under despotic foreign rule—Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Arab or Turkish—for over twenty-five hundred years. The native Egyptian was even less able to cope with the problems of government than the Turk, Armenian or Greek whom he hated. To see foreign influence expelled from Cairo would be to see the only skilled administrators—such as they were—in the country forced to leave, and Egypt left in the hands of native officials, some corrupt and some honest, but all incompetent and untrained, with a nerveless, spiritless, ignorant population to be fleeced by usurper and tax-gatherer. Things were unquestionably in far from ideal shape. The spirit of the rebellion was neither unnatural nor ignoble. Yet it was impossible for any one who had a particle of interest in the maintenance of a safe road to the East to look on without dismay and misgivings. If the whole affair had been taking place in Central Africa or in Argentina the case would have been entirely changed. The world looks on with half contemptuous silence and merely shrugs its shoulders when a revolution takes place in a South American republic. But the drunken riot to which we give only a glance and frown of disgust when we read of it in our newspaper causes quite another emotion when it occurs on our front porch or on the road by which our children go to school. The honest and perfectly sensible doctrine that salvation comes through struggle and suffering, that the passage from national disease to national health may lie through storm and anarchy becomes ominous and even

intolerable if its application lies near home. And events which Englishmen might have viewed with equanimity in some parts of the globe caused them the utmost anxiety in Egypt. France was almost equally disturbed. The great orator Gambetta moved heaven and earth to achieve an Anglo-French demonstration that would restore order. And even Gladstone, of all men the least inclined to favor unnecessary interference, at last made up his mind that if the Sultan would not move, and if the combined Powers would do nothing, England at any rate could not remain idle.

Not until he had tried every other solution of the difficulty did the great Liberal minister come to this conclusion. For he knew as many did not the gravity of the situation and the tremendous forces that would be set in motion if English troops had to crush the rebellion and bring order to Egypt. "Territorial questions," he wrote in 1877,* "are not to be disposed of by arbitrary limits; we cannot enjoy the luxury of taking Egyptian soil by pinches. We may seize an Aden or a Perim, where there is no already formed community of inhabitants, and circumscribe a tract at will. But our first site in Egypt, be it by larceny or be it by emption, will be the almost certain egg of a North African Empire, that will grow and grow until another Victoria and another Albert, titles of the lake-sources of the White Nile, come within our borders; and till we finally join hands across the equator with Natal and Cape Town, to say nothing of the Transvaal and the Orange River on the south, or of Abyssinia or Zanzibar to be swallowed by way of viaticum on our journey." Never was there a truer forecast. And it may be imagined how earnestly a statesman of such convictions would strain every nerve to avoid taking the first step in such a formidable progress. Gladstone was not distinguished by love of the Turks, but the intervention of the Sultan seemed to him an infinitely less dangerous thing than the intervention of England. But the Sultan, obstinately blind,

**Nineteenth Century*, August, 1877; Gleanings of past years, IV, 357; Morley's Gladstone, III, chapter V.

refused either to intervene himself or coöperate in a conference of the Powers, deliberately conferring upon England the right of exclusive control in the affairs of Egypt. This Gladstone declined. A combined demonstration of the fleets of England and France was decided on, and this combined action of the two powers would, it was hoped, avert the worst consequences of interference. Then Gambetta fell from power. The government of France became doubtful and vacillating. And it was under these unpromising conditions, when no one was sure that the presence of the allied fleet in the harbor of Alexandria meant anything whatever, that the revolution approached the lurid stage. Definite danger menaced the Khedive and those who were loyal to him. On June 11, 1882, a mob at Alexandria murdered some fifty Europeans and severely wounded the British consul. Outbreaks and murders in other places seemed to indicate that the expected reign of anarchy had arrived. Egyptian soldiers were working night and day at the harbor fortifications and at batteries commanding the fleet. If action were contemplated at all—if the Dual Control meant anything—then now was certainly the moment for a definite blow. Sharp orders came at last from England, and early in July the British admiral advised those on shore that unless work on the batteries was discontinued he would be compelled to destroy them. On July 11 this was done, the French fleet having previously sailed away, leaving the responsibility of the action which both governments knew to be necessary to fall on England. That act of refusal ended the Dual Control. England had taken on herself the burden of restoring order in Egypt.

How that burden has been borne has been told in many books,* and it is perhaps scarcely worth while to press into a few words so great a story. How England promised, and

*Notably in Milner, *England in Egypt*; White, *The Expansion of Egypt*; Traill, *England, Egypt and the Soudan*, and *Life of Lord Cromer*; and in more readable, indeed fascinating, journalistic style, G. W. Stevens, *Egypt in 1898*, with its sequel, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*.

promised in good faith, to remain in Egypt only so long as was necessary to the restoration of order, how when rebellion had been crushed the problem of the Soudan began to cast its dark shadow along the valley of the Nile, how English aid and advisers never seemed to reach the point at which they could be safely withdrawn, and how at the same time Egyptian finance has been untangled, law and order have been made to prevail, and the great dams at Cairo and Assuan have increased the cultivable soil of the country beyond the dreams of the Pharaohs, all this makes an instructive lesson in what might be called constructive imperialism, and is worth much pondering. One of the greatest of empire building Englishmen, Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, has presided over the reconstruction of Egypt from the time of Arabi's revolt to the present day. And yet at this moment he is only minister plenipotentiary and consul-general at Cairo, with no apparent connection whatever with the government of Egypt. It is one of the cases in which the fact and the letter do not coincide, for all the world knows that no power in Egypt or Constantinople, almost, we may add, in England, would contradict the fiat of this steady, even-pulsed, cool-headed, keen-eyed Englishman who rules Egypt as absolutely as ever did Mehemet Ali or Cleopatra.

But if we must point elsewhere for the great record of English achievement in Egypt, we shall take a little time before we close to enforce in detail the dictum of Mr. Gladstone's that we quoted above. For these studies of ours are only an introduction at best, and it seems worth while to dwell more earnestly on certain fundamental lines of thought which we are not likely to stumble upon in books about either England or imperialism and which may yet help us to understand things a little more clearly. So let us turn to the first problem that Mr. Gladstone and his cabinet had to face in Egypt after Wolseley had finally broken Arabi's resistance at Tel-el-Kebir, and after Tewfik Pasha had seated himself securely once more on his shaken throne in a humbled and more or less relieved Cairo. Detailed questions of finance

and administration could be left to experts on the spot. But what of the Soudan?

In 1881, when Egypt was growing more and more restless each month, there arose a prophet at Dongola on the Nile whom the world came to know as El Mahdi. Seldom has a deliverer been more needed by a wretched people than by the Soudanese when El Mahdi began to preach his fiery gospel. Conquered in 1819 by the son of Mehemet Ali, the Soudan had been held more or less insecurely since by a government which was ambitious beyond its capacity, and which would better have sought to govern Egypt alone adequately than to control the desert region of the Upper Nile. "I look upon the possession of the Soudan," said Gladstone before the Khartoum tragedy had made the whole problem an English one, "as the calamity of Egypt. It has been a drain on her treasury, it has been a drain on her men. It is estimated that one hundred thousand Egyptians have laid down their lives in endeavoring to maintain that barren conquest." But far from abandoning the Soudan as the century went on the dominion of Egypt was extended in the days of Ismail over Darfur and Kordofan. Not that the Egyptians could fight better than the Soudanese but they had the advantage of a more advanced civilization, and the savage, divided, quarrelsome tribes were overcome one by one by the better disciplined, better led, though less warlike forces from the north. But to divide and conquer was an easy task compared with the steady, never-ending burden of government. The officials and soldiers sent from Cairo were practically licensed brigands who wrought their pleasure on the unhappy Soudanese unchecked by Pasha or Khedive. Only while Gordon was Governor-General of the Soudan (practically 1874-9) was there any real attempt to fulfil the duties of a sovereign power to its subjects, and six months absence of his strong hand and incorruptible soul left matters in as intolerable shape as ever. No wonder then that chiefs and warriors all over that vast area should turn with eagerness

towards the Prophet of Dongola, as he preached crusade and deliverance from the hated yoke of Egypt.

Up to the summer of 1882 England had no responsibility, no power and no knowledge of the Soudan. The personality of Gordon interested his countrymen, and they read with admiring pride the occasional newspaper jottings of his achievements in distant Africa as the good people of Pennsylvania or Texas might glow over the doings of some brave American adventurer in China or Morocco. But Alexandria and Tel-el-Kebir changed the situation. Without being nominally or actually in charge of the administration of Egypt, Baring in Cairo and Gladstone in London yet were in a position distantly resembling that of Clive in Bengal after Plassey, and before many weeks they had to determine the character of the advice they were prepared to give regarding the Soudan. Gladstone's feeling about its value to Egypt we have noted, and with this sentiment Baring and his associates agreed. But to make this feeling effective and authoritative in a country in which England had no legal power was a matter of some delicacy. The prime minister knew the abyss towards which the relentless current of events was drifting him, and he resisted it with all his strength, even in the face of a crisis. For the rapid disappearance of the old tribal divisions and the formation of a great empire under El Mahdi made the matter a pressing one. Instant offensive action was demanded if the Soudan was to be held, and such action, in spite of the recommendations of the English statesmen—and as yet they hesitated to do more than recommend—was decided on by the government of the Khedive. An able English officer in the Egyptian service, General Hicks, was commissioned to check the Mahdi and reconquer the Soudan. This Gladstone should doubtless have forbidden, but he still hoped that England might soon leave Egypt entirely alone, and desired not to assume any responsibility that might be thought to imply a claim of over-lordship. So Hicks went forth with his Egyptians, won some small successes, and finally on the fifth of November, 1883, was

destroyed with his entire force by the fierce-fighting followers of El Mahdi.

Action by England now was imperative if she was to assume, as was unavoidable, any responsibility whatever for the defence of Egypt. In January, 1884, Gordon himself wrote to Lord Granville that the Soudan ever was and ever would be a useless possession and that the only wise or even possible policy was that of evacuation. To this there was practically no disagreement. But at Khartoum and at points throughout the Soudan there were still to be considered the Egyptian garrisons, soon to be surrounded and annihilated by the fast rising tide of the Prophet's power. Should not at least some responsible officer be sent to Khartoum to carry through the evacuation and bring away the garrisons from the abandoned posts? This decision was by no means an easy one. But after anxious debate it was at last decided to send Gordon to evacuate the Soudan. Wolseley—the victor of Tel-el-Kebir, now commander-in-chief—brought Gordon to the room in which a committee of the cabinet were sitting, went in to confer with them, came out soon and said to Gordon—as the latter himself reports the conversation, “Government are determined to evacuate the Soudan, for they will not guarantee the government. Will you go and do it?” I said, “Yes.” He said, “Go in.” I went in and saw them. They said, “Did Wolseley tell you our orders?” I said, “Yes.” I said, “You will not guarantee future government of the Soudan, and you wish me to go up and evacuate now.” They said, “Yes,” and it was over, and I left at 8 P. M. for Calais. Not a complete version of the conversation, as we know, but sufficient, and the tragedy was begun.

The dreary tale of the next twelve months must be told briefly. Gordon did go to Khartoum, and there soon changed his mind with the impulsiveness which was characteristic of him regarding the whole purpose of his mission. Instead of proceeding with the evacuation he decided to stay and crush El Mahdi. On his way to Cairo he had written, “The

Soudan is a useless possession; ever was and ever will be so. I think Her Majesty's government are fully justified in recommending the evacuation, inasmuch as the sacrifices necessary towards securing a good government would be far too onerous to admit of any such attempt being made. Indeed, one may say it is impracticable at any cost. Her Majesty's government will now leave them as God has placed them." Before the end of February he had abandoned this in favor of British suzerainty. In March he was enthusiastically preparing to "smash up the Mahdi." By May he was shut up in Khartoum, and the cabinet in London was considering a relief expedition.

Early in April it was seen that this might be necessary, but many of those who had watched the matter from the beginning were still unconvinced that Gordon could not leave Khartoum—a matter in which there was radical difference of opinion. Indeed there is little doubt that he could have brought his whole garrison safely back to Egypt early in the year if he had not changed his purpose from evacuation to attack. Six or eight years earlier his prestige in the Soudan had been immense; it had enabled him then to work miracles against the forces of disorder; but he did not realize how helpless he or anyone else might be when pitted against the wild fighters of the Soudan and the equatorial provinces united and maddened by the fierce enthusiasm of a holy war. If escape from Khartoum might have been effected in March, the gate was certainly closed by June and by the end of that month there was no hope except through the relief force. But this was a matter of immense difficulty, unanticipated and unprovided for. Gladstone was blamed by the English people for slowness, but all our admiration of Gordon's heroism should not blind us to the fact that he had done precisely what he had been told not to do, and that the whole terrible situation of the summer of 1884 was something of which the British premier and his advisers had never dreamed. Much time was spent during the early summer in the consideration of the best route to

Khartoum—a matter in which there was radical difference of opinion among the men who knew most about it. The Nile route was decided on finally at the end of July. Wolseley was at Cairo ready to start on the ninth of September and at Wady Halfa on the fifth of October. And then came the slow, heart-breaking task of ascending the cataracts, sweeps of rapids and falls seamed with rocks, where the boats had to be pulled up by ropes for mile on mile against the fierce current, guided by Canadian voyageurs.* Early in December the relief force reached the bend of the Nile beyond Dongola, where it sweeps down in a great elbow from Abu Hamed before flowing northward again toward the sea. To continue the climb up the fourth cataract to Abu Hamed and then toil on through the fifth to Berber and the sixth to Khartoum was practically to throw away all chance of success. So at Korti a flying column was formed to speed across the desert and strike the Nile again at Metemmeh, a little below the doomed city. A swift march, broken by fierce fighting, brought the little army to the point where four steamers sent by Gordon awaited them, and on January 24 two of them, with twenty-six British soldiers and two hundred and forty faithful Soudanese on board, set out up the river to reconnoiter. On the 28th, as they sighted Omdurman they heard an occasional shout from the bank telling them that Khartoum was fallen and Gordon dead. But not until they forced their way nearer and under heavy fire anxiously swept the city with their telescopes searching in vain for the Government house and the flag that had waved there so many weary months, did the grief-stricken men who had tried so hard to save Gordon realize that their long struggle had been in vain. They at least had done their best, and had done it nobly. But they were just three days too late.

So El Mahdi's empire swept unchecked up to Wady Halfa, and his triumphant followers carried their spears and their war-cry to the very gates of defeated Egypt, while

*The fourth cataract, between Dongola and Abu Hamed, drops one hundred and sixty feet in sixty-eight miles; the fifth, between Abu Hamed and Berber, two hundred feet in one hundred miles.

far-away England mourned her hero and looked bitterly up the valley of the Nile into the savage darkness of the Soudan. Year after year passed and as the wild neighborhood of the dervishes became more and more insupportable the old law that forbids a permanently stationary line between civilization and savagery came slowly into operation. Bit by bit the steel road crept south, bit by bit Egypt hurled the raids from the Soudan farther back, until at last Kitchener stood victorious on the field of Omdurman, the Union Jack waved over Gordon's grave, and Gordon's own dream of a crushed Mahdi and a restored British rule in the Soudan was fulfilled. To what end? The riddle of the Sphinx may be harder than the riddle of Egypt and the Soudan; to miss its answer can scarcely be more fatal.

Nothing could have been less planned by England than the conquest of Egypt or the conquest of the Soudan. The greatest of anti-imperialist British statesmen presided over the councils of Britain when the order was issued to bombard Alexandria. The event that led to the conquest of the Soudan was the mission of Gordon for its evacuation. The defense of Egypt is only rendered necessary by the enormous importance of that which is commanded by the citadel of Cairo—the Suez Canal built by Frenchmen. The canal is important because it leads to the East, and the East means—Australia, contemptuously neglected by the Dutch for a century and a half, rediscovered as an afterthought by an English sailor, then colonized by convicts,—and India, conquered by the servants of a trading company in defiance of orders. Nothing less like a coherent, well planned whole could be imagined. Every stone in the structure seems an accident. Yet looking at it now we see no ill-ordered confusion, but a great and peaceful empire in which each part fills its place as if a master-builder had put it there. Think of the whole marvelous chain of causes and effects from the capture of Arcot and the victory of Plassey to Omdurman and the last report from Lord Cromer, and then—go to Egypt and look long at the face of the Sphinx.

The Perils and Rewards of Empire

AND now let us survey our whole field of study and see whether we have attained anything,—whether there are any definite principles or achievements in the story of Imperial England which may guide, and widen, and deepen our thinking about the whole great subject which has been in our minds. To sum it all up is doubtless not quite possible. But to put our ideas in order let us review as clearly as we can the problems and perils brought to England by the growth of her Empire, and then see whether there is any counterbalancing good which may make the Empire seem at all a forward step in the story of the British people.

Perhaps the gravest dangers which cause earnest men to view imperialism with suspicion and even dread may be summed up under four heads. There is the danger of conflict with other expanding powers. There is the weakness that may come from the extension of frontier. There is the moral danger that menaces the strong power which conquers a weak one; the responsibility that attends the destruction or the hindrance of independent national existence. And in some aspects of the great question there is the apparent endlessness of the task, the disheartening futility of the labor and expenditure, the necessity which each conquest brings of some further conquest, with the danger of final national exhaustion. Now these are not stated in order to be controverted. They are the dangers which the English have been increasingly facing ever since the race began its career of expansion, and which they are facing now. Still another danger might once have been added—that involved in the relations of the mother country to her daughter colonies as colonies,—but that, we may hope, has been solved once for all.

The danger of conflict with other expanding powers is peculiarly easy for Americans and Canadians to understand. If England and France had not each laid hands on America Wolfe would not have died before Quebec, and two great

peoples would have been saved the burden and the danger of the gigantic duel of the eighteenth century. Until the capture of Quebec in 1759 no one could say with certainty that English and not French would be the language in the coming centuries of four-fifths of North America. Indeed, if in the long war the cause of Montcalm had triumphed the Atlantic colonies—absurd as the thing seems to us now—might have had the place in a great New France that Quebec holds now in Canada. But it was written otherwise, and the dreams of Louis XIV and Frontenac faded in the smoke of Wolfe's cannon. Unless the American Republic and Canada should meet in war—and it would be a war unpardonable as deadly, a war not to be even thought of without horror—there will be no further conflict of expanding empires in America. But this happy prospect scarcely exists in Africa* or Asia. In Africa the danger belongs to the future, and may be avoided. In Asia, England and Russia have been rivals ever since the Tzar Paul struck hands with Napoleon and planned the invasion of India.

The danger of collision with other powers, the weakness and constant danger involved in extended frontiers, and the terrible endlessness of a forward movement once begun have all been fairly well illustrated in India and Egypt. They may be reinforced more specifically and not unprofitably by a little study of the situation during the past generation along the northwestern frontier of India and by the story in a little more detail of some phases of expansion in South Africa.

India is bounded on the north by some six thousand miles of mountain wall,—a wall in places four hundred miles broad, and in the main an impassable barrier to invasion. As a matter of fact it has needed attention for centuries only in the northwest, where the Khyber and the Bolan passes have long been the highways into India of merchant and invader. Here, especially in the great hills that overlook the Punjab, the fiercest of mountaineers lurk in

*Refer to J. S. Keltie's *Partition of Africa*.

inaccessible retreats, rob and murder the unwary traveler, fight one another in endless feuds, combine now and then in ferocious crusades against alien intruders, or pounce in daring raids on the farms and villages of the plains. In their own mountains they are as formidable as they are intractable, and there is little prospect of their ever being less so. "Except at the times of sowing and of harvest a continual state of feud and strife prevails throughout the land.* Tribe wars with tribe. The people of one valley fight with those of the next. And to the quarrels of communities are added the combats of individuals. Khan assails Khan. . . . Every tribesman has a blood feud with his neighbor. Every man's hand is against the other, and all against the stranger. Nor are these struggles conducted with the weapons which usually belong to the races of such development. To the ferocity of the Zulu are added the craft of the redskin and the marksmanship of the Boer. The world is presented with that grim spectacle—the strength of civilization without its mercy. At a thousand yards the traveler falls wounded by the well-aimed bullet of a breech-loading rifle. His assailant, approaching, hacks him to death with the ferocity of a South Sea islander. Here the weapons of the nineteenth century are in the hands of savages of the stone age."

The presence of such a frontier is of itself a sufficiently serious matter. It is as if in a range of hills in the midst of Massachusetts or New York, a range ten times as lofty and as inaccessible as the Berkshires or the Adirondacks, there lived a still unconquered race of Indians as savage as the Mohawks of the seventeenth century and as skilled in mountain warfare as the Swiss or the Albanians. Permanent peace would be impossible, in that case, except through conquest. But conquest of the Himalaya country is practically an impossibility. Each forward step of British rule in

*Winston Churchill, *The Malikand Field Force*. This and Warburton's *Eighteen Years in the Khyber Pass* are, perhaps, especially worthy of mention among the many excellent books, written by men who know their subject at first hand, about this strange and fascinating part of the wilder world.

India has been the solution of an insistent frontier question by conquest, as has been the case under somewhat different superficial conditions with the advance of the English race in America. But each new frontier was wider than the old one and quite as difficult, until now the customary solution of the problem seems at last a hopeless one. All that can be done is to maintain a military force to serve as frontier police, to seize and hold as many strategic points as possible, to guard and keep the peace in the two great passes, and to maintain a sleepless watch against the tidal wave of ferocious savagery that may at any moment surge and swell in the mountains under the impulse of some half demented prophet. But this is not all. Back of the mountains lies Afghanistan. And back of Afghanistan lies Russia.

Russian expansion in Asia began in the days of Ivan the Terrible (1581), when Elizabeth was on the throne of England. But the conquest of Siberia between 1580 and 1636 and the expansion south to the Amur in the far east mattered not at all to England or to any other power in Europe. When the Treaty of Nertchinsk was signed in 1689 between Russia and China the frontiers of England and Russia in Asia were four thousand miles apart,* and Russia's advance to the Oxus was as little anticipated as England's to the Indus. By 1800 Russia had absorbed the Khirghiz steppes, and England's influence, guided by Wellesley, was creeping into the interior of India; the distance between the two empires had dwindled to two thousand miles, and Paul was planning an invasion of India by way of the Caspian Sea and Afghanistan. Between 1800 and 1850 England annexed the Northwest Provinces, Scinde, Oudh and the Punjab, so that her frontier posts touched the foot of the mountains. In the same time Russia had reached across the desert steppes and was launching boats on the Aral Sea. The distance was reduced to one thousand miles. The advance through Tashkent to Khiva,

*These few statements are practically a condensation of Roberts' admirably clear and interesting statement of the matter in his *Forty-One Years in India*, a book that every student of Imperial England should read. A fuller account will be found in Curzon, *Russia in Asia* and in Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*.

Samarcand and Bokhara in the sixties cut the thousand down to four hundred. Transcaspia was annexed in 1884, and in 1895 the Pamirs Commission appointed to arrange the frontier question permanently and satisfactorily (!!), left the empires touching at last on the "roof of the world" and only separated for hundreds of miles by the restless country of Afghanistan.

For years before 1895 this result had been foreseen. But what was to be done? England might protest against the annexation of Merv and Bokhara, but she could not really prevent it any more than Russia could prevent the annexation of Oudh. How then could safety be assured? Was England to watch the advance of Russia until the Cossacks watered their horses in the Cabul River or even the Indus, or should she forestall her rival and seize in time the most important strategic points? Simply so that we may see the situation let us note two expert opinions of forty years ago. Here is the opinion of Sir Herbert Edwards, one of the ablest and sanest officers of his day in India: "By waiting on our present frontier we husband our money, organize our line of defence, rest upon our base and railroads, save our troops from fatigue and bring our heaviest artillery into the field; while the enemy can only bring light guns into the passes, has to bribe and fight his way across Afghanistan, wears out and decimates his army, exhausts his treasury and carriage, and when defeated has to retreat through the passes and over all Afghanistan—plundered at every march by the tribes." Note this carefully, and then compare this utterance by Lord Lawrence, whose advice was equally against a "forward policy:" "The approach of Russia may involve us in great difficulties; and this being the case it will be a wise and prudent policy to endeavor to maintain a thoroughly friendly power between India and Russia. . . . Nevertheless, . . . it is quite out of our power to reckon with any degree of certainty on the attainment of this desirable end. And I feel no shadow of a doubt that if a formidable invasion of India from the west were imminent,



An Afghan Hill Fighter of the early Nineteenth Century

the Afghans *en masse* from the Ameer of the day to the domestic slave of the household would readily join in it.”*

If Edwards and Lawrence were right, therefore, it was wise not to advance a step farther, but to maintain a buffer state which might bear the brunt of any possible attack. The obvious “buffer” was Afghanistan. So Viceroy after Viceroy sedulously cultivated friendship with Afghanistan and supplied the gratified Ameers with money and rifles with little corresponding return. For the Afghans had an invincible objection to the residence of an ambassador of any power whatever at Cabul. They had faith moreover, based not without reason on the first Afghan war, in their ability to prevent any permanent conquest of their country and to make an invasion so difficult and unpleasant that it would not be lightly undertaken. So in the eyes of some men the situation was unsatisfactory. The buffer state might at any moment ally itself with Russia in an invasion, as many a time had been done in the old days before the British conquest. The money and arms furnished by British India and received with lavish assurance might be turned against the givers, and Lawrence’s prediction be fulfilled. No certainty was possible without the presence of a British resident at Cabul and some effective means of getting troops through from India.

The time came at last when practically conclusive information came to Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, that Russia was in secret correspondence with the Ameer, and definite news came that a Russian officer had been received with state in Cabul. Lytton and his chief at home, Lord Beaconsfield, were in agreement as to the immediate need of remonstrance. An ultimatum, a victorious war, the triumphant placing of an envoy—the gallant Cavagnari—in Cabul, his murder, another war closed triumphantly and ineffectively by a stately treaty,—these followed in rapid succession. But there was still no permanent embassy in the Afghan capital,

*See Temple’s Lord Lawrence and in more detail G. Bosworth Smith’s Lord Lawrence. A most admirable and fascinating presentation of the history of the question with a strong argument for the “forward policy” is in Lady Betty Balfour, Lytton’s Indian Administration.

and little had been really achieved beyond an increased respect in the minds of the Afghans for the British arms. Russia had in a measure avenged herself for the check England had given her at the Congress of Berlin. A costly war, glorious enough, conducted with ability and gallantry to a successful end, had yet left matters very much as they were before. And since then soldiers and statesmen have gone on struggling with the situation, building a railroad through the Bolan Pass to Quetta—within striking distance of Candahar—chastising and conciliating the mountain tribes, and at all costs *keeping the peace* along the frontier and through the Khyber Pass.

The danger and deeply perplexing intricacy of the frontier question when people of savage or barbarous race are concerned may be further illustrated by the experience of South Africa. And here too as in the case of India, with the impression of complexity and gravity in the problem comes a feeling of terrible inevitableness, a sense of remorseless law, in which honest intentions and selfish ambition seem alike to contribute to the same steady advance of empire. There is a very true sense in which it may be said to be wrong to emphasize this working out of law as compared with the force of individual initiative. The gallantry and statesmanship of Clive is doubtless more inspiring than the contemplation of the vast results that have flowed from Arcot and Plassey. The profound causes which have led the white race to conquer the red in America, which have made the Russian power supreme in Central Asia, which have made the English the rulers of India, have an inexorable fatefulness about them which dismay us. But these laws are not external to human action. The story of empire simply enforces our conviction that interference with personal and national life is not to be undertaken lightly; that to solve a problem by drawing the sword or overturning a throne may be perfectly right, but can never be a thing of little moment. So now in further illustration let us look briefly at part of the story of whites and blacks in South Africa.

When the Dutch first came to South Africa the native inhabitants of the Cape and of the country inland for several hundred miles were Bushmen and Hottentots. Just to the north there was a group of much more highly developed tribes to be included under the general name of Bantus, but the Bantu tribes with whom the Dutch had to deal they called the Kosas or Kaffirs. These warlike savages had apparently been moving slowly down towards the southern point of the continent, and between the European and Kaffir invaders there was naturally a collision. Several severe wars were fought before and after the English conquest, resulting in a gradual movement of the frontier inland. Now it was just here that the missionaries of the school of Livingstone made their protest. The Kaffirs, they declared, were quiet enough when they were honorably treated, and it was only when robbed, outraged and treated like brutes that they resorted to force as the last appeal. The powerful influence of the London Missionary Society was successfully brought to bear on the government, therefore, with the result that an increasing friction began to be noticeable between the views of the colonists and the colonial office. This culminated in the thirties, when a series of unfortunate acts brought it to a head.

In 1827 and 1828 the old Dutch method of administering justice was done away with, and officials and forms of procedure were substituted according to English ideas and with English names. The old burgher senate was abolished at the same time, and a notice issued that all documents addressed to the government must be written in English. Several judges insisted on members of a jury being able to speak English, and excluded Dutchmen from a jury even when prisoner and witnesses were Dutch themselves, and though this was remedied in the course of a few years the memory of the insult remained hot. In 1828 was also passed an ordinance repealing a restrictive law which had been aimed at the vagrant habits of the Hottentots, and placing them in political rights on a level with Europeans. In 1833 came the abolition of slavery. Now slavery was not



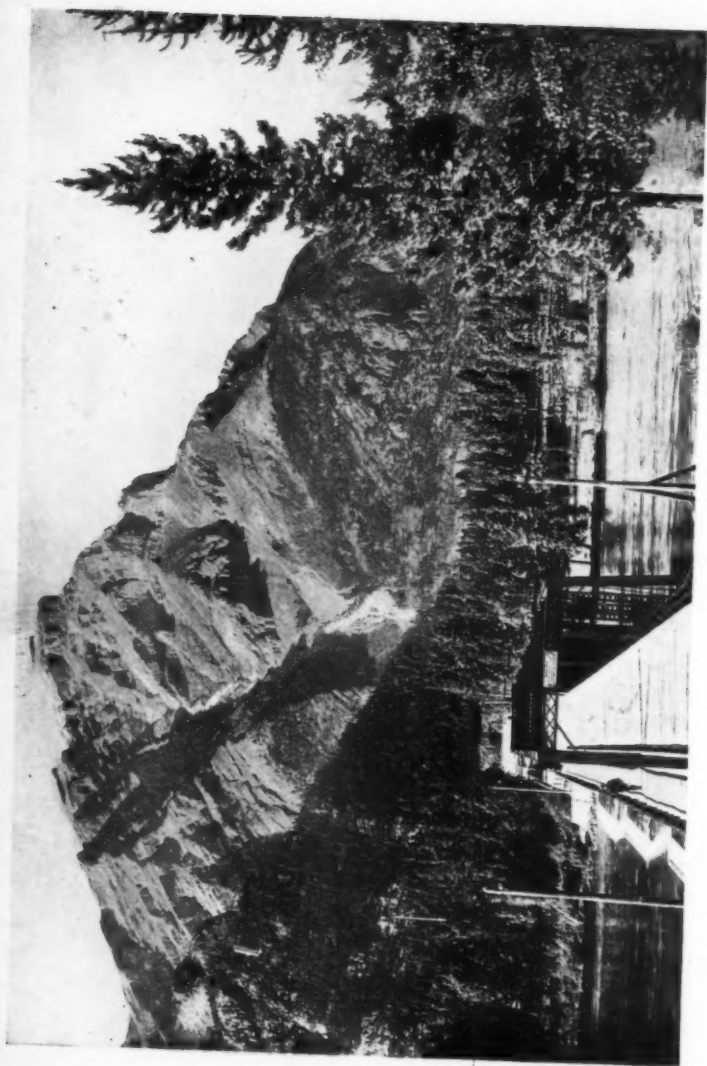
Black Glacier at Amurnath, Cashmere, India, 16,000 feet above Sea Level



Panorama of the Cashmere Valley, India



Great Glacier, Glacier, British Columbia



Cascade Mountain, Banff, British Columbia

rooted in South Africa as it was, say, in Jamaica; the conditions were quite different, and the arguments for the continuance of the institution in the West Indies have never been valid for the Cape. Still slaves were there—nearly four thousand of them—as they had been since the first founding of the colony, and they were owned largely by the Dutch farmers. The compensation allotted by the British government was less than half the estimated value of the slaves so that the whole proceeding was to the colonists as if the crown had deliberately and arrogantly deprived them of valuable and hard-earned property.

Finally in December, 1834, came a formidable Kaffir war. Twelve thousand warriors crossed the frontier without any warning and ravaged the European territory for miles, robbing, burning, and murdering. As soon as the news reached Capetown action was vigorously taken. Colonel Smith—afterwards better known as Sir Harry Smith—took command of the British troops, and by the middle of February the invaders were driven back into their own country. Up to 1819 the boundary line between Kaffirland and Cape Colony had been the Great Fish river. In that year it had been moved on after a war to the Keiskamma. Eighty miles past the Keiskamma is the Kei and fifty miles beyond the Kei is the Bashee. At the end of March, then, the colonial troops crossed the Keiskamma and inside of two weeks they had driven their opponents over the Kei and followed them across. In the peace that followed, the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, believing that a heavy blow was necessary and that half measures were useless, placed the new frontier at the Kei river, eighty miles beyond the old one, and transplanted into the conquered region some seventeen thousand people who were in search of a home, making it a kind of subordinate buffer state under the name of the province of Queen Adelaide. He went on the assumption, that is to say, that an extension of British rule was the only safe solution of the native question.

But while nearly the whole colony—including most of the

missionaries themselves—agreed with the governor's action and lauded his firmness and wisdom, some of the ablest and most influential representatives of the London Missionary Society took the opposite stand, and they found a willing listener in the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg. Lord Glenelg was a strongly anti-imperialist Whig. Moreover he was a man of benevolent feelings, easily moved by philanthropic motives, and when able and good men represented the Kaffirs to him as a helpless and outraged race whose ancestral home was being invaded and taken from them by unscrupulous men, he grew to believe sincerely that the governor had done the natives a grievous wrong. Accordingly he resolved to return the new province of Queen Adelaide to the injured Kaffirs. So this was done, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban was recalled.

The most notable results can be summed up in two statements. First: The Boers looked upon it as the last straw. Those who lived near the shaken frontier, knowing how insecure their lives and property must now be, decided to move away from the influence of so changeable and irritating a government and make new homes for themselves farther north and east. Secondly: The Kaffirs believed that for some inscrutable reason their enemies had become afraid of them, and that for future raids no severe punishment was to be feared. The cancelling of D'Urban's act of settlement accordingly brought another forty years of trouble before the final and complete adoption of his policy in 1878. The whole of the land of the Kaffirs in that year became finally and entirely subject to the British crown and was annexed to the Cape Colony. But it was forty years too late as far as good feeling between the Boers and England were concerned, for in 1836 the Great Trek had taken place which ended in the foundation of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic.

Long before these events, while the Dutch East India Company was still ruling Cape Colony, was born to the chief of an insignificant Bantu tribe a son whom he named Chaka.

As the child grew to boyhood he quarreled with his father and finally he and his mother fled by night and took refuge with a more powerful chief named Dingiswayo. Now Dingiswayo was a man cunning in war, and having heard of the European method of organizing an army, he adopted the idea as far as his limited opportunities permitted and formed his soldiers into well-drilled regiments. Into this army Chaka entered and by virtue of immense physical strength, great skill in the use of weapons, and general aptitude for war, he rapidly rose to be one of Dingiswayo's best and most trusted officers. When the old chief died, therefore, the army at once raised Chaka to his place, and all those who now obeyed the new leader called themselves by the name of his tribe,—the now terrible name of Zulu.

The organization and arms of Dingiswayo's army were improved by his successor; the Zulu regiments became the most formidable engines of war in South Africa; and their chief was only too anxious not to let them rust for lack of use. On tribe after tribe he hurled his army and blotted them out,—slaying all but the girls and boys who were thought fit for incorporation into the conquering nation,—all somewhat after the manner of the Iroquois but with a more bloodthirsty desire to kill. In 1827 General Bourke, acting governor of the Cape, put this suggestive remark in a note to the secretary of state, "The interior of Africa at no great distance from this settlement appears to be in a state of great commotion and for some years past various powerful tribes have been pressing to the southward, driving the weaker ones before them from whom many fugitives, under different appellations, have obtained refuge in the colony." It was the work of the Zulus. Their invincible and merciless power drove tribe after tribe to choose between annihilation and flight. Those who fled seemed to have caught the fierce spirit of their pursuers, for they also slaughtered as they went, until the very demon of murder and dismay seemed to possess the whole region south of the Zambesi.

One of the districts cleared of its inhabitants by Chaka

was that covered by the modern colony of Natal. The name had been given to the coast as far back as Vasco da Gama, but it was not settled by Europeans until 1827. In that year several Englishmen cultivated the friendship of the Zulu king and obtained from him a grant of Port Natal with the surrounding territory one hundred miles inland. Fugitives from various tribes gathered around the white men and it became a fairly prosperous settlement under the protection of Chaka, while after his assassination in 1828 the new king, Dingaan, was even more careful to cultivate the friendship and confidence of the English. Missionaries came, a church was built, and a town laid out which was christened Durban after the energetic governor of the Cape.

In 1836 came the great Boer emigration, and Natal received its share of the moving farmers. And now occurred the first collision between Europeans and Zulus. Suspicious of the migrating host, Dingaan treacherously fell upon a body of three hundred men, women and children and massacred them all. A body of troops sent to aid the distressed people was defeated and its leaders killed. Things looked black for the colony until in 1838 an army of resolute Dutch farmers under an able leader—Andries Pretorius, after whom the Transvaal capital is named—invaded the country of Dingaan and on the banks of the Blood River overthrew the Zulu army and killed some three thousand of its warriors. For the time then, the land had rest.

Now pass over the years till you come to 1878, when Cetewayo, son of Panda, was king of the Zulus. Much had happened since the defeat of Dingaan at the Blood River. The Boers, freed by their own efforts from the Zulus and Matabele had formed scattered settlements far inland past the Orange and the Vaal rivers. Natal had become British territory, while by the Sand River Convention in 1852 and the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854 the Transvaal and Orange republics had been recognized as independent states. But the Transvaal in those days scarcely deserved the name of a state, and between 1852 and 1877 trouble was brewing up

there. The farmers with the proud narrowness of a democracy and the irresponsibility of a land in which every man lived to a considerable extent unto himself, trod on the rights of every tribe in their neighborhood, excited a hostility to the whites which blocked trade and menaced the British colonies, and became a distinct nuisance to all South Africa. The British governors tried both to restrain the Boers and to keep the irritated Zulus from attacking them, only with the result of exasperating the latter and doing no good. Finally, under circumstances which we cannot take time to relate, the knot was cut by the annexation of the Transvaal to British territory in 1877, and England now took over the problem of restoring confidence and atoning for the lack of law and responsibility which had prevailed under the Dutch regime.

But it was too late as far as the Zulus were concerned. Cetewayo had always been the friend of the English as long as the Dutch republic was still there, but now the balance of power was overthrown, and the Zulu king found himself hemmed in by a power that was apparently bent on a policy of annexation. The savage method of expressing fear and distrust is by depredation and insolence—the Zulu proceedings on the Natal frontier soon demanded remonstrance, and a courteous message of December, 1878, containing liberal concessions but demanding cessation of outrages and immediate compensation, was left unanswered. War was the inevitable consequence.

In January, 1879, Zululand was invaded by three columns under the command of Lord Chelmsford, the general leading in person the central division across the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift. About ten miles east of the ford the army camped by the steep, lonely hill of Isandlana, and on January 22, Lord Chelmsford moved off a few miles with half his force to support a reconnoitering party. Orders were left to those who remained behind that they should hold themselves within the camp, and then the two divisions were parted for the day. In the evening when the general came back to his camp he found no sign of life. Eight hun-

dred Englishmen and five hundred native allies lay there dead at the hands of Cetewayo's Zulus. The savage chief had played the ancient stratagem of attacks with a small force and retreating. The English had lost their heads, had followed the enemy, and had been surrounded and cut off by thousands of warriors. After the desperate struggle was over the triumphant Zulus proceeded to Rorke's Drift, where a little garrison of ninety-six men had been left to defend the ford. From half-past four in the afternoon till four next morning the little band of Englishmen held their post—a mere makeshift hospital containing forty sick men besides its defenders—against three thousand Zulus. At dawn the appearance of Lord Chelmsford, who had marched from the desolate camp at Isandlana, made the enemy retire. So melancholy a disaster and so brilliant a defence in the same day turned the attention of the world to South Africa. Reinforcements come to Zululand from the Cape, from Ceylon, and from England. A victory at Kambula brought Cetewayo to his knees, and the battle of Ulundi on the fourth of July ended the war. Since then England has had many fierce fights with the natives, but none to compare with her struggle with the Zulus. Only one—the Matabele war—can be mentioned in the same breath, and the Matabele was really a section of the Zulus, with the same traditions and the same military organization and discipline.

These things are taken simply as illustrations. They represent cases which might be indefinitely multiplied, and they all point not to pessimism or to sweeping condemnation of expansion, but—let us say over again—to a certain and inexorable sense of law. That because a thing is lightly done it must needs have light results human nature is ever prone to believe. We are oppressed with a sense of injustice when the thoughtlessness or indifference or passion of an hour brings a lifetime of heavy payment. And perhaps, as Plato, in his study of justice, turned from the individual to the state that he might see the subject more plainly on the larger canvas, so we may see in the study of empire some of the funda-

mental laws of life that are less obvious but none the less operative in the unthought-of doings of each day.

The Pilgrim Fathers peering from their little ship towards the sullen shore of New England, Clive defending the walls of Arcot, Phillip guiding and guarding his little convict colony on the shore of Port Jackson, John Lawrence planting deep in the hearts of the conquered Sikhs a respect for English justice, Livingstone toiling and suffering in the jungle of Central Africa—all these in their own way teaching the might and the far-reaching results of ordinary work-a-day duty well done. None had more than passing dreams of empire. And even though each problem solved has brought new problems, though the good deeds of good men and the wise plans of wise men have been terribly balanced by things evil and foolish, yet it is with empire as it is with all life: the evil and foolishness must ever be fought, with the memory of blunders paid for to make us wiser and the inspiration of the Clives and Livingstones to make us braver.

And hope for the future surely is not lacking. Bit by bit the British peoples have changed the meaning of the word empire. The union of liberty with law and order which has steadily grown to maturity in the home islands has been the unconscious ideal of the empire builders. Even in India and Egypt the British flag has meant education and an increasing share of the natives in government,—a measure of liberty which would have been unthinkable under the rulers which preceded Clive and Hastings in Bengel or Cromer in Egypt. And outside of these two vast dependencies what is the Empire? It is a confederacy of free nations, looking with love and loyalty to the ancient home of their race and yet free, prosperous, and full of vitality, working out their future in practical independence and yet bound together by an unbroken tradition of kinship and common heritage.

So long as the British Empire holds to its present ideals, so long as the best element of the three united races—English, Scotch and Irish—continues to dominate or at least to check and weaken the baser part from which no race is free,

so long as the red ensign of England stands in the main for freedom and justice throughout all her vast domains, so long will the Empire last. On the same tremendous conditions hangs the future of the United States. They are conditions that no people can escape. To say then that the issue rests with God is true and yet perhaps in so final and comforting a statement there is something deceptive. After all, the coming years for Britain and the British domains beyond seas rest with the race that has made them what they are. On its strength, on its wisdom, on its justice depends the justification of the Empire.

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

1. Show how the French conquest of Canada failed to be permanent. 2. How was Canada at first divided and governed by the English? 3. How did the population and hence the ideas of the people begin to change? 4. In what peculiar situation were their English rulers thus placed? 5. What attempt to pacify the colony was made in 1763? 6. What circumstances at length led to the Quebec Act? 7. Why was the Quebec Act a "monument of

blind folly?" 8. How did government by the people come to be realized in Canada? 9. What is the point of view held by "Little Englanders?" 10. How did the French Revolution affect English ideas of liberty? 11. Sum up the two characteristic views of colonial policy in England up to 1840. 12. What conditions in Canada led to the revolt of Mackenzie and Papineau? 13. What changes had England undergone between 1791 and 1837? 14. What did the Act of Union signify? 15. How did the British North America Act provide for the growth of the Dominion? 16. Who was Sir John MacDonald? 17. What is the relation of the English colonist to the mother country?

THE ROAD TO THE EAST—EGYPT

1. What are some of the points which guard Great Britain's Road to the East? 2. What did Napoleon's attempt on Egypt show? 3. What were the steps by which France lost and England gained the control of the Suez Canal? 4. What are the "International Courts" and why are they created? 5. What was the effect upon Egypt of the appointment of the *Caisse de la Dette*? 6. Why did not England advocate the doctrine of "non-interference" with Egypt? 7. Why was the revolt under Arabi regarded so seriously by England and France? 8. What in brief is the story of England's control of the lower Nile Valley? 9. What had been the condition of the Soudan before the rise of El Mahdi? 10. What were the steps which led to Gordon's being shut up at Khartoum? 11. Describe the expedition for his relief. 12. Sum up the steps in the English occupation of Egypt.

THE PERILS AND REWARDS OF EMPIRE

1. What four great dangers does English imperialism have to face? 2. How long have England and Russia been rivals in Asia? 3. What is the character of the mountaineers of the Khyber Pass? 4. Why does the struggle with these races seem a hopeless one? 5. Show how England and Russia have steadily approached each other in this region. 6. What arguments have been urged against a forward policy? 7. What great difficulty besets such a policy? 8. What happened when the necessity for remonstrance came? 9. What grievances had the South African Dutch against the English up to the time of the Great Trek? 10. Describe the rise of the Zulus to power. 11. What difficulties resulted in the annexation of the Transvaal to Great Britain?

SEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who was the Earl of Durham? 2. Who is the present governor-general of Canada? 3. What were the great rival fur trading companies of Canada? 4. Who is Goldwin Smith? 5. For whom was the Mackenzie River named, and why? 6. What was the *Pacte de Famille* of 1733? 7. What was the Industrial Revolution? 8. For what service is Lord Dufferin remembered? 9. How did England secure Malta? 10. When did she take Perim? 11. What price did Disraeli pay for the shares in the Suez Canal? 12. What has been the career of Lord Cromer? 13. Where is Pamir?

The Stage for Which Shakespeare Wrote

III. The Theaters of Elizabeth's London

By Carl H. Grabo

IN 1575 the Puritans who controlled the municipal government of London succeeded in driving the companies of players from the city. The inn-yards in which dramatic performances were held were said to be the resort of low characters who delighted in riot and disturbance, and the plays themselves were said to be immoral in their influence. Doubtless there was much justice in this complaint and sober and respectable citizens may reasonably have considered dramatic exhibitions a menace to order and propriety. An additional argument against such performances was found in the theory that the plague, an ever dreaded enemy, was spread by the miscellaneous gatherings which crowded the inn-yards. In this, too, there was doubtless some truth and the representations of the Puritans finally carried the day against the opposition of the lower classes.

Driven from the city inn-yards the companies of actors sought refuge in the outlying districts without the jurisdiction of the London authorities. Finsbury Fields to the north of the city, a place already noted as a center of sports and recreation, became the first resort of the actors. There, in the "liberty of Halliwell," was built the first playhouse, "The Theater." The ground on which this playhouse was built had once been held by the church and certain immunities had descended with its title. There, though easily accessible to Londoners, The Theater was free from municipal control.

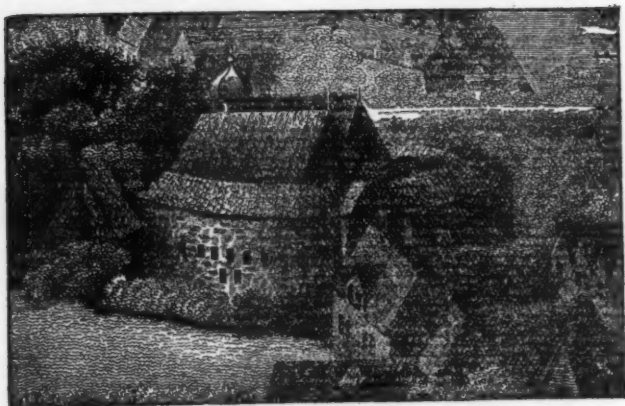
The significance of the name "The Theater" has been a matter of some dispute. The term has been thought to be an abbreviation of "amphitheater" inasmuch as the structure is known to have been circular in shape, unroofed, and used often for fencing, dancing, etc., as well as for theatrical



The Second Globe Theater, opened in 1614

exhibitions. The term "theater" is also thought to refer to the stage, a movable one, which was built for the performance of the plays. Mr. Ordish, author of "London Theaters," inclines to this latter view.

The innovation introduced by the owners of The Theater



The Hope Theater in 1647

was the requirement of an admission fee from the spectators. Previous to this time actors had relied upon the generosity of their patrons and had simply "passed the hat." This change of method slight as it seems is really important for it marks the establishment of the drama upon a solid, legitimate basis. From this time a company of actors became a more stable, responsible, and competent body than ever before and the dramatic profession rose steadily in popular esteem.

The Theater is supposed to have attracted Shakespeare when he first went to London. There, it is thought, he received his first experience as an actor and a playwright. It is known that he was at a later time part owner of the Globe, and the Globe, it is known, was built from the timbers of the dismantled The Theater when the latter was destroyed in the winter of 1598-99. The owners of The Theater, James and Richard Burbage, changed the location of their property because of a dispute with the owner from whom they leased their land. But they were doubtless influenced as well, by a desire to establish themselves on the Bankside, the Surrey side of the Thames opposite London, a resort

which grew more and more popular, finally eclipsing the resorts of Finsbury Fields to the north.

One other theater closely associated with The Theater was the Curtain, so-called not because of any curtain used in its performances but for the reason that it was built on a piece of land known as The Curtain. This theater led a precarious existence, but despite the opposition of the city authorities and even despite orders for its removal it managed to survive until about the year 1625. The Curtain was a popular place of amusement and is of interest to us in that "Henry V" was first performed upon its stage. "Romeo and Juliet" may also have been played there.

It is to the Bankside that we must turn for the further history of the Elizabethan drama, for in addition to the Globe there were at various times on the Surrey shore, the Swan, the Hope, and the Rose theaters. There were perhaps one or two additional theaters which served at times for theatrical exhibitions as well as for bear and bull baiting, dancing, fencing, etc. But concerning these the available records are deficient. The one other theater of importance of which we know anything was the Fortune and this, like the Curtain, was built to the north of London rather than on the Bankside.

The Bankside was popular long before the advent of the theaters as a place for bear baiting. Doubtless the establishment of the theaters in the same locality was with an eye to additional profits through that favorite amusement. Certain it is that the theaters were built so that they could be easily adapted either to plays or to bear and bull baiting and Edward Alleyne, the famous actor and manager, the founder of Dulwich College, made much money as a promoter of bear baiting.

The influences of the amphitheater and of the Tudor inn-yard on the structure of the Elizabethan theater become readily apparent now that we have reviewed the origin of the theaters and considered the variety of uses to which they were put. Through the aid of old maps and cuts and the

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few detailed specifications which have come down to us we can create a more definite picture of the interior and exterior of a theater than we have yet obtained.

The Fortune theater was, we know, built on much the same plan as the Globe and as we have specifications of the former we are thus enabled to get some idea of two of the most important theaters of Shakespeare's time, one of which, the Globe, is closely associated with his life and work. Following are the general specifications for the Fortune:

The frame of the house was to be set square "fouer score foote of lawful assize everye waie square without, and fiftie-five foote of like assize square everye waie within," with a strong foundation of piles brick, sand, and lime, "to be wrought one foote of assize at the leiste above the ground." The theater consisted of three stories, of 12, 11, and 9 feet high respectively. They were to be 12½ feet wide, "besides a jutty forwards in eyther of the saide two upper stories of tene ynches of lawful assize." There were four "gentlemen's rooms," and sufficient and convenient two-penny rooms; and all the rooms were to be provided with seats. The theater was to have "suche like steares, conveyances, and divisions, without and within, as are made and contrived in the late erected play-house on the Bancke, in the said Parish of St. Savior's, called the Globe." There was to be a tiring room, and a "shadow, or covering," over the stage. The length of the stage was 43 feet, and it extended forward to the middle of the yard. Beneath the stage and beneath the first gallery the space was railed with oak boards. The roof of the shadow, galleries, stairs, etc., were covered with tile, and the rooms ceiled with "lathe, lyme and haire."*

The one important difference between the Globe and the Fortune was that the former was circular and the latter as the specifications indicate, square. Other theaters were hexagonal or octagonal and the Swan may have been oval as it appears in the drawing of De Witte. The same general interior arrangement, however, was probably common to all the theaters.

The seating capacity of such a theater as the Fortune or Globe has been a matter of considerable dispute. De Witte,

*From Henry T. Stephenson's "Shakespeare's London."

the Dutch scholar who visited England in 1596, stated that the Swan seated three thousand persons. Mr. T. F. Ordish* states in opposition to this contemporary account that three hundred would be nearer the proper number. The grounds for this statement and others which would make the Elizabethan theater a small affair are very questionable. A modern scholar, Mr. John Corbin, in a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly*† endeavors to prove the reliability of De Witte's statement that the Swan held three thousand people, by estimating the probable capacity of the Fortune as indicated by the specifications cited above. Mr. Corbin makes a careful estimate of the seating capacity of the three galleries, the stage, and the pit and concludes that the normal capacity of the Fortune was 2,138 and that crowded it would hold 2,558. Such an estimate sustains the credibility of De Witte's statement regarding the Swan. Mr. Corbin further quotes Coryat's statement that the Venetian playhouses were "beggarly and bare in comparison of our stately playhouses in England." This evidence supplemented by the general fame of the Elizabethan theaters throughout the Europe of their day seems to sustain the most recent view that the theaters of Shakespeare's time compared favorably in size with the playhouses of today, which seat usually from twelve hundred to two thousand persons.

But though of similar size the Elizabethan theaters were very different in arrangement from the theaters which we know today. The sketch made of the interior of the Swan after a description by DeWitte has been subjected to considerable criticism in that it does not conform exactly with other information from reliable sources. But in general it seems to be accurate and to afford as nothing else does a picture of an old playhouse.

Several interesting points may be observed upon an examination of this contemporary sketch. First: The interior of the theater looks very much like an amphitheater. It is

*T. F. Ordish, "Early London Theaters."

†John Corbin, "Shakespeare and the Plastic Stage," *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1906.

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circular (or perhaps oval) and is open to the sky. Instead of tiers of seats surrounding the pit, however, there are three galleries, which, unlike our modern galleries, run almost completely around the theater. These galleries are roofed and give the theater the general appearance of a well with a thick double wall.

The stage is perhaps the most peculiar point of all. It protrudes into the middle of the pit and is open on three sides to the view of the spectators. It seems large in proportion to the theater and from the specifications noted in the Fortune theater it may well have been so. In the Fortune the stage was to be forty-three feet long—a very considerable size. At the back of the stage are two doors. These lead into the tiring-house where the actors clothed themselves for the fray. Above these doors is either a balcony or a loggia and above that a superstructure which terminates above the roof line in a small hut-like structure. (Other views show two small towers upon the roof.) Over the tower is a mast with a flag bearing the picture of a swan, the device of the Swan theater. The flag flying indicates that a performance is on, and the trumpeter at the door of the roof-house gives the same information upon his instrument.

A few more details are necessary to complete the picture of the theater during a performance. The pit into which the stage protrudes should be filled with a mob of honest and dishonest Englishmen with perhaps a few women, these latter none of the best. The audience is in all probability very demonstrative and not at all slow in expressing its likes and dislikes. It is, too, eating nuts and fruit and drinking bottled ale, like a modern crowd at a baseball game, and it welcomes a fight. At either side of the stage is a halberdier who with the staff of his weapon endeavors to bring order when a conflict is imminent. Around the front and sides of the stage also are young gallants who sit upon stools and smoke and by their presence contrive to cut off part of the view of their unfortunate and humbler brothers in the pit.



Interior of the Swan Theater as Drawn from the Contemporary Account of De Witte

The galleries are filled with the more affluent citizens and in one corner of the lower gallery (at the left in De Witte's sketch) is the orchestra.

It is only as one examines the details of the stage in the sketch of De Witte that he begins to appreciate the problem of staging a play under conditions so alien to our modern methods. A Shakespearian play must have appeared a far different thing when performed on the stage with which the

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dramatist was familiar than when produced on our modern spectacular stage with its profusion of mechanical devices, its clever effects in lighting and its curtain.

The absence of a front drop curtain, inevitable to a stage surrounded on three sides by an audience, is perhaps the most fundamental difference between the stage of Shakespeare's playhouse and that of our modern theater. This absence of a front curtain involves a number of important points some of which are best considered when we discuss stage proprieties, with the perplexing question of front and back stage and the Elizabethan convention of stage distance.

But there are certain requirements in the technique of the drama which the lack of a front curtain obviously entails. There could not be on the open Elizabethan stage the curtain climaxes which are a common feature of our modern drama. The act could not conclude with a situation. Indeed the Elizabethan drama had no great regard for acts as a dramatic expedient. Many of the first quartos of Shakespeare's plays are without any indication of act division. Such breaks in the plays were the interpolations of later editors, chiefly those of the eighteenth century. The false precedents which they established have been blindly followed by later editors. It is probable therefore that an act in the Elizabethan drama was not an artistic unit of the play. An interval between the acts served simply to rest the spectators and the actors and allow perhaps for some alterations of the stage furnishings. These intervals were filled either by music or by the performances of clowns. The Porter's scene in "Macbeth" so often referred to in these discussions may have served as a stop-gap between acts or to afford opportunity for some popular comedian.

With but a little wait between the acts at the most an Elizabethan play was more unified than our modern plays, which are often but a series of connected dramatic situations. Indeed the Elizabethan plays may be called more narrative than dramatic in the sense which we so often use the word



The Swan Theater. From Visscher's View of London, 1616.

"dramatic." Their object was to tell a story, rapidly and concisely.

The lack of significant division into acts is supplemented by an almost complete lack of scene divisions. The division into scenes of Shakespeare's plays is a later invention, made necessary by the alien conditions of our modern stage. A Shakespearian play often seems broken unnecessarily into small parts. This is not the effect which Shakespeare produced in his own theater. There an act was an uninterrupted succession of dialogues, monologues, and groups. A scene was marked only by the exit of one group and the appearance of another. The act was like a stream, bearing various and dissimilar things upon its surface but fundamentally unified and unceasing in its flow.

The absence of a front curtain accounts for much of the difference between a good Elizabethan play and a good modern play. Each is suited to the conditions under which it was first produced. The widespread belief that Shakespeare is a better poet or poetic dramatist than practical playwright is also to be traced to the incongruity of our modern dramatic experience with the older conditions. When we read Shakespeare we, in imagination, see his plays as they should

be presented and very probably as they were presented. As now produced a Shakespearian play is hampered by conditions of staging utterly alien to it.

The discussion of a front curtain or the lack of it has led into a field more properly the domain of a later article which will discuss the effect of Elizabethan stage conditions upon Shakespeare's work. But it is well to remember as we consider details of stage mechanism, that Shakespeare had to examine each detail with a most careful scrutiny; and it is well to call to mind as we proceed any instances in Shakespeare's play which serve as illustrations of the limitations imposed upon, or the opportunities afforded him by any stage device.

The lack of a front curtain is, as we have pointed out, one of the fundamental differences between the Elizabethan and the modern stage. But that there was some curtain used for certain scenes is obvious from numerous references to it in the plays which have come down to us. In Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy," a play which may have served as the basis for "Hamlet," a direction reads, "*Enter Hieronimo. He knocks up the curtain.*" In the prologue to Peele's "David and Bethseba," the direction reads: "*He draws a curtain and discovers Bethseba and her maid. . . . David sits above.*" In "Romeo and Juliet," Juliet takes the sleeping potion and falls upon the bed within the curtains. In the "Winter's Tale" Hermione is discovered posing as a statue, a direction which implies a draw curtain across some portion of the stage. In "Hamlet" there is an arras behind which Polonius hides and in the "Merry Wives of Windsor" Falstaff hides behind the arras.

These and other instances point conclusively to the fact that a curtain was demanded in some plays. But just where such a curtain was placed is a matter of dispute. In the sketch of the Swan interior discussed above there is no curtain apparent. This omission is accounted for by the theory that the curtain—a draw curtain not a drop curtain—was used only at times. When not required it was furled

close to the pillars on either side of the stage as shown in the Swan sketch. Such a curtain when in use would shut off the rear of the stage only.

In the small cut here reproduced from the play of "Roxana" such a curtain is to be seen. It appears to hang from the lower edge of the overhanging balcony. The use of such a curtain in the staging of a play will be better considered in our study of stage properties and the con-



Early Sketch of English Stage. From the Title Page of the Tragedy "Roxana," published in 1632.

ventions of place and distance; but one more important point remains to be considered before proceeding to those perplexing questions.

The balcony at the rear of the stage must at times have been used in the staging of plays though at other times it may have served to accommodate the orchestra or even spectators. In the balcony scene of "Romeo and Juliet" it would appear to be vital, and many other plays seem to demand its use.

In "King John," where Arthur the blind prince is thrust from the walls of the castle, it seems probable that he jumped from the balcony, which may have been at no great height from the stage—perhaps eight or ten feet. One German critic advances the theory that Arthur jumped from the roof of the theater inasmuch as a ten-foot jump would not have killed him. Such a theory seems improbable, however, for it would have been unnecessarily expensive to hire a new boy for every performance of the play.

Whether the balcony at the back of the stage protruded or whether it was in the nature of a loggia is uncertain. The Swan sketch is non-committal; the small cut from the "Roxana" volume seems to indicate that the balcony protruded and that the draw curtain hung from its lower edge, leaving the space beneath the balcony for use in certain scenes. This latter conception is open to criticism inasmuch as some plays seem to demand that an actor in the balcony witness what takes place behind the draw curtain. If the curtain were hung from the bottom of the balcony such an arrangement would appear to be absurd, for a spectator in the balcony could not possibly see beneath it. A reasonable solution of the difficulty is that the balconies differed in different theaters. Another possible explanation will be considered when we discuss the problem of the front and back stage and the difficulties incident thereto.

The important points to remember with regard to the Elizabethan playhouse as we have thus far briefly considered it, are: 1. The pit of the theater was without a roof. 2. The stage protruded into the pit and was surrounded on three sides by spectators. Other spectators sat on the stage. 3. There was no drop curtain and consequently little division into acts and none into scenes in the modern meaning of "scene." 4. There was a draw curtain, probably at the rear of the stage, which was used in plays such as "Romeo and Juliet" and the "Winter's Tale." 5. The balcony at the rear of the stage was used as a part of the stage scene when occasion demanded.

Representative English Paintings

The Blue Boy

By W. Bertrand Stevens

[Thomas Gainsborough was born at Sudbury in Suffolk in the year 1727. At the age of fifteen he was sent to London, where he studied for four years under Hayman, an historical painter, and in the academy in St. Martin's Lane. It was in the fashionable city of Bath that he first came into prominence as a portrait painter. At the foundation of the Royal Academy he was elected an original member. He died in 1788.]

SINCE the dawn of civilization certain independent minds in all activities have rebelled against the principles promulgated by their contemporaries and predecessors. Skopas astonished the Greek world by introducing into his sculptured groups, an unheard of realism; Donatello, wearied by the fine grace and delicate curves affected by Lorenzo Ghiberti, went to remarkable extremes in an endeavor to be true to nature. It was quite in the order of things, then, that Thomas Gainsborough should take exception to certain statements made by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The characters of these rival portrait painters show a marked contrast. Reynolds was prudent, methodical, diligent and a lover of knowledge; Gainsborough was seldom guided by a sense of duty, he lacked business foresight and cared for no knowledge save that which directly concerned his art. In their styles of workmanship, the difference lies largely in the application of color. In his Eighth Discourse Reynolds says:

It ought to be indispensably observed that the masses of light in a picture be always of a warm mellow color, yellow, red, or a yellowish white and that the blue, the gray or the green color be kept almost entirely out of the masses and be used only to support and set off these warm colors, and for this purpose a small proportion of cold colors will be sufficient. Let this conduct be reversed, let the light be cold and the surrounding colors warm and it will be out of the power of art even in the hands of Rubens or Titian, to make a picture splendid and harmonious.

Whether or not Gainsborough painted any one picture to refute this statement is an open question, but it is certain that he realized that Sir Joshua was in error and pictures

can be taken from almost any stage of his work which are in direct opposition to this teaching. In some of his finest canvases he used the so-called "cold colors" for his heavy masses. The "Blue Boy" was long considered to have been conceived as a direct reply to the Eighth Discourse, but later critics believe that the picture was painted several years before that work was written. Nevertheless it violates nearly all the principles which the Discourse aimed to teach.

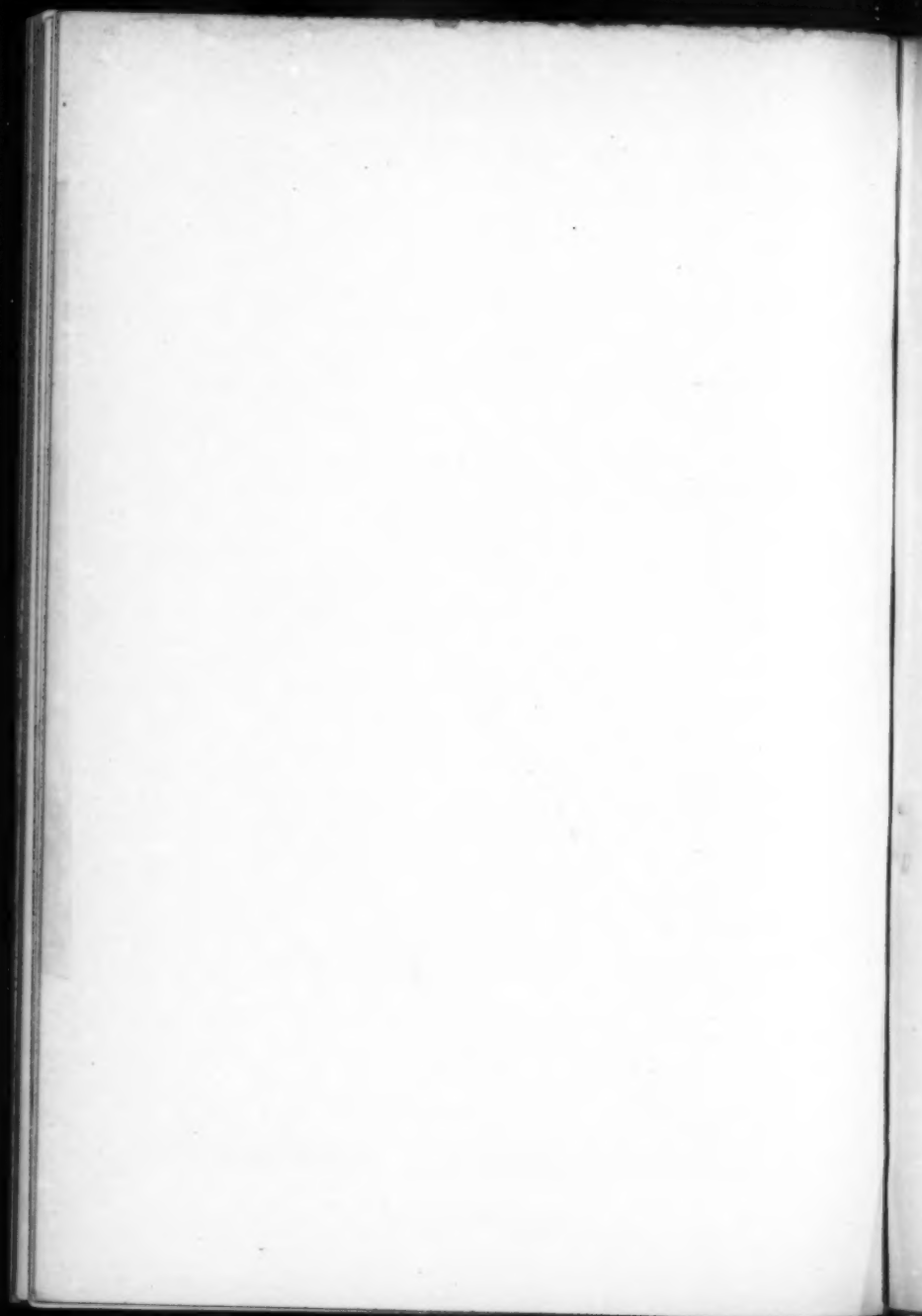
No unanimous conclusions regarding the "Blue Boy" have ever been reached. It is probably a portrait of Jonathan Buttall, the son of a wealthy ironmonger of London. The figure is nearly life-size and is dressed entirely in blue (the chief of Reynolds' "cold colors") in a costume of about 1646. This is perhaps the most finely balanced of any of Gainsborough's works. To be sure, we miss a lightness and freedom that fill his later productions and that we have come to expect as a part of the artist, but we find instead a certain courtly grace and thoughtful seriousness that prevent the picture from descending to the level of commonplace portraiture. The color is extremely rich and the whole composition shows a unity that gives no indication of that incapacity to reason consecutively of which the artist accuses himself in one of his letters.

As a painter, using the word in its technical sense, Gainsborough ranks with Titian, Rubens, and Velasquez. In disposition of color, light, and shade and the judicious use of his material, he proved himself one of the greatest masters of painting in all schools of art. It is true that he had his faults; his drawing was often bad and his work lacks loftiness of purpose. But let us forget this and enter into the wonderful fairyland that he opens up to us.

There are three versions of the "Blue Boy," but the one in the collection of the Duke of Westminster is probably the original. It is not known whether those versions owned by Mr. George Hearn and the Count de Castellane are replicas by the artist himself or simply copies of the original painting.



The Blue Boy by Gainsborough
In the Duke of Westminster's Collection.



The Ancoats Brotherhood

By Katharine Coman

MANCHESTER is the center of the English cotton manufacture. The surrounding region within a radius of ten miles from the Exchange is given over to this branch of the textile industry. Spinning mills, weaving mills, bleacheries and dye-works loom on every hand. All the wage-earners, men, women, and children, are more or less directly concerned in the production of England's great staple. Manchester itself serves as market town to the cotton district. Huge warehouses wall in the streets and darken the passages. Vans laden with bales of raw cotton or packages of muslins and gingham crowd the thoroughfares. The smoke of factory chimneys overhangs the town like a pall. Out into the suburbs stretch miles of unsightly brick cottages, each adding its dribble of smoke to the general murk. The garden plots are sorry spectacles. No green thing flourishes under the stifling drizzle of carbon. The skies contribute their daily quota of mist or rain and convert the smoke-laden atmosphere into one all-pervading smirch. Under such conditions, cleanliness is only to be had at cost of infinite labor. Gaiety, courage, ambition ooze away at the finger tips. Physical, mental and moral depression seem inevitable. The working people of Manchester are prone to be shallow, stunted and spiritless. Wages are good and employment fairly steady. The factory acts prescribe a fifty-four hour week for women and young persons, and forbid the employment of children under fourteen years. The schools are excellent and the law requires that child operatives attend school half of each working day. There are no beggars and no slums in Manchester. But neither physical comfort nor the ability to read and write can restore to this people, disinherited of sunshine and green fields the priceless gift of joy. Condemned to spend their lives in an environment of squalid ugliness, they have lost the trick of gladness, the spur of aspiration.

Fifty years ago Ancoats was a pleasant residential sub-

urb of the cotton metropolis, but it has been overwhelmed by the rising tide of industry, and the prosperous suburb has become a dreary working-class quarter. The old residents are fled, the family mansions are abandoned, and the place is given over to the proletariat. Such voluntary exiles are likely to think only of the personal loss and inconvenience consequent on the surrender of old homes and connections, but one at least of the Ancoats refugees has followed the subsequent fortunes of his birthplace with wistful sympathy. Charles Rowley, a man of culture and genius, the friend of William Morris, Walter Crane, and Bernard Shaw, a man bred to enjoy the highest things in art and literature, was led to ponder on the contrast between his spiritual inheritance and that of his successors in Ancoats. So pondering, he determined to share with them the treasures of the mind—so cheap and yet so difficult to attain. Thirty years ago, before Toynbee Hall was built or the Neighborhood Guild organized in London, Mr. Rowley inaugurated in Manchester that endeavor of the privileged to convey to the unprivileged classes something of their own intellectual resources.

The Ancoats Recreation Committee began its work by providing band music in Philips Park on summer evenings. So great was the appreciation of these open-air concerts that they came to be recognized as a public necessity. The Manchester Town Council assumed financial responsibility for them, and they have ever since been maintained, not only in Ancoats, but in all parts of Manchester. The Committee then set about the task of evoking beauty in the homes of the people by the offer of prizes for the best kept cottages and the most tasteful window gardens. Many a discouraged housewife came to realize that beauty as well as charity begins at home. Art exhibitions followed, in which some of the best pictures that the art lovers of Manchester could offer, as well as some of the best handicraft, were placed before the people. The object of rendering men discontented with squalor and ugliness was in some measure achieved. Right standards in art are not the peculiar posses-

sion of the connoisseurs. Beauty in form, color, composition, is as evident to the ignorant as to the learned once the man is rid of the prejudice of custom and fashion. The evident desire of the denizens of Ancoats for recreation of the best sort led the committee to venture next on lecture courses. These were successful from the start and now form the principal feature of the winter program. Some of the best lecturers from Oxford and other universities have given their services, returning year after year till they come as personal friends to a people they know and understand. Sunday afternoon audiences of from five hundred to a thousand men and women gather to listen to such speakers as M. E. Sadler, Prince Kropotkin, Walter Crane, Ford Madox Brown, Frederic Harrison, York Powell, and Bishop Stubbs. The subjects are chosen from the fields of economics, history, literature, science and art. Workingmen are keen for information having direct and practical bearing on their own lives. Natural phenomena, industrial and political problems or ethical discussion will hold their attention and not infrequently elicit debate. The program of 1901, for example, presented a series of notable biographies: Stevenson's "Letters," the "Life of Huxley," "Prince Kropotkin's Autobiography," the "Life of William Morris," Maeterlinck's "Life of the Bee," the "Life and Letters of Lord Tennyson," etc. The program of last spring savored rather more of economic interest: "The Working-woman's Future Hope," "The Theory and Practice of a Labor Party," "The Bookbinder's Craft," "Britain and the Colored Races under her Charge," "Sir Thomas More." At the last lecture was distributed a very good reproduction of Holbein's portrait of the martyred statesman, now preserved at Windsor. The committee regards the steady support given these lecture courses as a complete vindication of their principle: "Aim only at the best."

These Sunday afternoon meetings have unmistakably demonstrated the fact that working folk have a desire to know something of the noblest which has been thought, said



Truly yours
Charles Rowley

A Pen Sketch of Mr. Charles Rowley, the Manchester Philanthropist

and done in the world. Every one who knows the members of this body of men and women will also know that the average of intelligence is as high here as anywhere else. The committee have never recognized class distinctions, they have not catered to the working class or any other class, but they are convinced that culture is as essential for the full life to work folk as it is to people of means and leisure. With this in mind, the committee have provided the best they could get, and it has been appreciated.

No insignificant feature of the entertainment offered by the committee is the annual program. Each is a study in attractiveness. Serious quotations, humorous and poetic, are tucked into the margins and interstices of the more formal matter. An amusing cut from *Punch* or a burlesque sketch of Mr. Rowley enliven the somewhat prosaic pages of dates and lecture subjects. This year's pamphlet reproduces with rare delicacy of finish a series of studies by Burne-Jones with an introductory note by Mr. Rowley, who points out that even a genius attains beauty only by taking pains. The programs also offer suggestive notes on books and reading from the same friendly hand.

The enterprises of the Recreation Committee have multiplied as various needs became apparent. Dramatic societies, choral societies, debating societies, a mother's club, classes in literature, history, political economy, English composition,—these activities might be duplicated in a score of English settlements. The feature emphasized at Ancoats is the element of personal service—the kindling influence of mind on mind. This is illustrated in the reading circles, where small groups of earnest men read and discuss under the guidance of a skilful leader such books as Goethe's "Faust" and the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius.

Nor is the original recreative aim lost sight of in the intellectual development. During the winter months are held a series of five "at homes" where dancing and light refreshments attract the younger and less serious members of the community. The indoor program of the Recreation Committee is highly successful, but its outdoor work is no less

potent for good. A Cycling Club and a Rambling Club have been organized for the sake of facilitating excursions into the unspoiled country that lies roundabout the cotton district. Derbyshire and the Peak are but two hours distant by rail. The Cheshire hills and the Lancashire coast may be reached in less time. The mountains of Wales are within the compass of a Saturday afternoon. The program for 1906 announces (between May and September) a list of eighteen rambles to occupy a half day, whole day, or week end as the case may be. An experienced leader makes himself responsible for the business arrangements of each trip including railroad tickets and the inevitable four o'clock tea. The Cycling Club announces a list of thirty Saturday and as many Sunday runs. The English have not abandoned the use of the bicycle, that cheapest, simplest and most exhilarating means of locomotion. By its aid not only Cheshire, Derbyshire, and the seacoast, but the Lake District, that Mecca of English tourists, is brought within reach of the Black Country's denizens. Think what it must mean to the fagged clerk or half-stifled operative to look forward through the weary week to a Saturday's spin through Dovedale or Macclesfield Forest. Occasionally European excursions are made under the same benevolent auspices. Such parties are "personally conducted" by some experienced friend and traveling expenses are reduced to the minimum. For last Easter week a "Holland Round,"—The Hague, Amsterdam, Leyden and Scheveningen was advertised at a total cost of £4 5s. In 1905 the Easter excursion covered Bristol, Glastonbury, Wells, and Bath, and cost but £3. This quotation from a recent letter of Mr. Rowley's gives the spirit of the work:

Please note we are not a "Settlement." We work from ourselves with one aim to find out and enjoy the best in each other and in all the rest. So we have no patronage and we don't stiffen into uninterestingness. The best is good enough for us, and we can get it though we are only work folk. It is no use sending you any photographs of Ancoats—it is the same dreariness one finds in New York or Boston or



A Design for the Ancoats Brotherhood

Chicago at their worst, but even there not so bad as I have seen in Naples, Cairo, Joppa, or Jerusalem. The residuum everywhere is hopeless—so is the rich, idle scum, the wasters. Let us try to prevent the formation of either and both. It can be done—it is our new quest. All else is useless, as history proves. That being done, sensible, good-hearted folk may begin to enjoy our planet.

The Committee was not content to provide these things *deus ex machina* fashion from above. More than a dozen years ago Mr. Rowley and the friends most closely associated with him undertook to render the work self-supporting, not so much in the financial as in the personal sense. They aimed to base the activities that had grown up under the auspices of the Recreation Committee on the associated effort of all the men and women concerned. With this in view the Ancoats Brotherhood was formed. It was hoped that such coöperation would evoke the instinct of fellowship—the consciousness of the deep spiritual values engendered in common effort and common pleasure.

Distinctions of class wealth, and creed are set aside—a thing far more difficult in England than with us. Any person may become a member of the brotherhood by paying an annual contribution of not less than a shilling. No questions of any kind are asked. All who care for the interests of the Brotherhood are welcome. The membership fluctuates somewhat from year to year, but averages eight hundred and fifty. The finances of the organization seem to be very simple. Expenses are light. New Islington Hall, where all meetings are held, belongs to the Corporation of Manchester and is secured at a low rent. Membership fees, private subscriptions, collections, etc., amount to some \$800 a year and serve to cover all expenses with a small balance to the good. To quote from a report of the Committee:

We are a nondescript lot. . . . We have among our members representatives of all creeds and all beliefs, religious, social and political. We have Christians, and Jews, Agnostics and Freethinkers, Socialists and so-called Anarchists, Tories and Radicals, and we get along very well together. These various types are sure to act and react on

each other and we think the brotherly combination is beneficial to all.

The expectations of the promoters of this deeper movement have been realized in the Sunday morning conference where the more serious men gather for the free discussion of vital social problems. Among the subjects of the year past we note as "The Teaching of Patriotism," "The Ethics of Citizenship," "Hopes and Fears for Workfolk." (This last discussion was led by Ben Tillett.) The quotation from Dr. Johnson with which this special program closes has been well exemplified in these Brotherhood Sunday mornings:

There is great solace in talk. We—you and I—are shipwrecked on a wave-swept rock. At any moment one or other of us, perhaps both, may be carried out to sea and lost. For the time being we have a modicum of light and warmth, of meat and drink. Let us constitute ourselves a club, stretch out our legs, and talk. We have minds, memories, valued experiences, different opinions. Sir, let us talk, not as men who mock at fate, not with coarse speech or foul tongue, but with a manly mixture of the gloom that admits the inevitable, and the merriment that observes the incongruous. Thus talking we shall learn to love one another, not sentimentally but fundamentally.

The ultimate object of the Brotherhood strikes deeper than recreation, deeper than education, deeper even than moral upbuilding of the individual man; it is fellowship, the mutual helpfulness and cheer that arise out of the realization of a common need and a common hope. In such comradeship men break through the barriers of class and creed, and enter upon the commonwealth of fraternal democracy. To quote again a program quotation from Morris' "Dream of John Ball:"

Forsooth, brothers Fellowship is Heaven and lack of Fellowship is hell; Fellowship is life and lack of Fellowship is death; and the deeds ye do upon earth it is for Fellowship's sake that ye do them, and the life that is in it, that shall live on forever and each one of you part of it, while many a man's life upon the earth from the earth shall wane.

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are elevated, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are



Suggestion for a monument to be erected
in honour of C—, R—, & Co. by
admirable friends

A Cartoon of Charles Rowley

amiable, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, have these in your mind, let your thoughts run upon these.

To see Mr. Rowley walk along the street is to understand what this word of the great English socialist means. For thirty years this man has been friend, counsellor, leader to the people of Ancoats. No man or boy but knows him for a friend and finds in his face inspiration and cheer. The secret of this abiding influence may be found not so much in what Mr. Rowley does as what he is. This leader gives always the best that he has or can produce. To quote his own words: "All is vanity but the best of the best." Further, he keeps steadily uppermost the spiritual aspects of life.

Charles Rowley's crusade against degradation well exemplifies the fore-word on the Brotherhood program for 1906 and '07:

You will do the greatest service to the state if you shall raise, not the roofs of the houses, but the souls of the citizens; for it is better that great souls should dwell in small houses, rather than for mean slaves to lurk in great houses.

Taken all in all it is a lifework that has gone far toward redeeming Manchester from sordid ugliness and dreary work-a-day monotony into a patriotic community of aspiring men. Manchester, the home of the school of *laissez-faire* economists, has gone farther than any American city in the way of public service for the people.

The Vesper Hour*

A Little Sanctuary

By Chancellor John H. Vincent

IT is a little book. It may be an imaginary book or one may carry it in his pocket, having made it himself. There are blank pages in it. But all are not blank. The book has a singular title—a title taken from a text of Holy Writ—"A Little Sanctuary." The passage in the prophecy of Ezekiel reads as follows: "Thus saith the Lord God; Although I have cast them off among the heathen, and although I have scattered them among the countries, yet will I be to them a *little sanctuary* in the countries where they shall come." *Ezekiel 11, 16*. This passage (and especially the figure of "the little sanctuary") gives the title to the tiny booklet here described. It is meant to be a means of grace. It may be a creation of the imagination or a visible and tangible reminder of God and His nearness. The little book may contain a few radical principles, precious promises and compact prayers. It may suggest the fact of God as ever present and accessible. A great church building does that. The Jewish tabernacle and afterward the Temple did that. But they no longer exist. The Bible fulfils that mission now and the little book I describe may turn one's thoughts toward that great Book and towards God Himself who is the sanctuary of the soul. One takes this little book in hand and in some quiet place—in the woods, in a cozy corner, in a private room—door closed and locked—the book becomes a simple sign and symbol of the "little sanctuary" God has promised to be to you, to me, to any one who will turn toward Him with desire and confidence. Indeed the "little sanctuary" may be opportunity for privacy in a crowd—in hotel, waiting room or railway train; and he has mastered a great secret

* The Vesper Hour, contributed to THE CHAUTAUQUAN each month by Chancellor Vincent, continues the ministries of Chautauqua's Vesper Service throughout the year.

who has learned how to turn aside from all worldly cares and shut himself in with God as in a sanctuary.

To every sincere and reverent soul the great God is everywhere and always "as a little sanctuary." Every true believer has with him wherever he goes in the enfolding presence of God his own little house of prayer. Thus wherever he is, his church is represented—in bedroom, cellar, kitchen, roadside, crowded street-car—lonely forest ramble—there in solitude or multitude he may hear the Lord's own words: "I will be to them as a little sanctuary." At all times and in all places he may "practise the presence of God."

The time is in all probability coming when by wireless telegraphy we may converse at will with absent friends, however remote. Even now the telephone works wonders. But we do not need telephone or wireless telegraphy to commune with God. He is here—"a little sanctuary." You may shut yourself up with Him at any time, anywhere, and the oftener you do it the better. We do go to church but *we may go to church instead of going to God*. We ought to do the one periodically that we may do the other habitually. We may make the church a place for art, for dress, for musical, ritualistic, and social enjoyment. We may feel the spell of the esthetic and fancy it a religious and spiritual impression. The thrill, the awe, the rapture of public worship may have no real element of religion in it. It may give a present pleasant subjective experience, but it may not at all help us in this world of sin to pillow ourselves for rest and comfort on God. And it may not guarantee strong moral sense and true courage and patience as God becomes to us "a little sanctuary" in the struggle of life.

The devout and thoughtful soul needs aloneness with God, that all who participate in social and public worship may be, first of all, inspired units. The preacher himself in the "little sanctuary"; the singers, each one, in quartet or chorus at home with God; every member of the congregation prepared for the public offices of religion by personal, habitual communion with God in the "little sanctuary" with

thoughtfulness, heart-searching secret confession and the prayer of faith. How effective would public service become if individual participants were thus prepared! And is this impracticable? If so of what value is the Christian faith to its professors? And of what practical service can the church be to the world to which it comes with a divine commission?

What a blessed thing it is to have personal access to God; to have a private sanctuary filled with echoes of the "exceeding great and precious promises" of Scripture; to be able to find strength and comfort when everything seems to go away—when friends fail or falter, when skies grow dark, when pain or fear comes, when hope is for a time clouded and when in one's own heart the flame of celestial love burns low. But this is our Gospel. This is the message of the church to the world. It was because of this that our Bible was first lived out in biography and history and written out in human and divine literature. It is a great thing to have the Heart of the Universe to go to when graves open and close and hearts that trusted us and that we trusted cease to throb in response to our appeals. But this is our Gospel! It means nothing or it means everything—the "little sanctuary" open to everyone and God's presence assured!

The fact that all this spiritual possibility deals with the realm invisible only enhances the charm of it. One might easily learn to worship a holy place, a holy thing, a holy symbol a holy picture and become an idolater. "Close your book, my child," said a mother to her daughter. "Don't keep your eyes fixed on the letters and words. Look enough to catch them and then close both book and eyes. Soon by this process you will know without the book." God's word is given in order to school us in faith. We read, exercise faith, think, remember, appropriate. We measure our spiritual possibilities by recalling "the exceeding great and precious promises" of God.

Come back, O hesitant believer, to your "little sanctuary!" Accept God's offer! You are only like a drop of dew, but the sun can make you glorious with his light!



The Hudson's Bay Company*

In the history of the world only one corporate company has maintained empire over an area as large as Europe. Only one corporate company has lived up to its constitution for nearly three centuries. Only one company's sway has been so beneficent that its profits have stood in exact proportion to the well-being of its subjects. Indeed, few armies can boast a rank and file of men who never once retreated in three hundred years, whose lives, generation after generation, were one long bivouac of hardship, of danger, of ambushed death, of grim purpose, of silent achievement.

Such was the company of "Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay," as the charter of 1670 designated them. Such is the Hudson's Bay Company today still trading with savages in the white wilderness of the north as it was when Charles II granted a royal charter for the fur trade to his cousin Prince Rupert.

Governors and chief factors have changed with the changing centuries; but the character of the company's personnel has never changed. Prince Rupert, the first governor, was succeeded by the Duke of York (James II); and the royal governor by a long line of distinguished public men down to Lord Strathcona, the present governor, and C. C. Chipman, the chief commissioner or executive officer. All have been men of noted achievement, often in touch with the Crown, always with that passion for executive and mastery of difficulty which exults most when the conflict is keenest.

Latterly the word "adventurer" has fallen in such evil repute, it may scarcely be applied to living actors. But using it in the old-time sense of militant hero, what cavalier of gold braid and spurs could be more of an adventurer than young Donald Smith who traded in the desolate wastes of Labrador, spending seventeen years in the hardest field of the fur company, tramping on snow-shoes half the width of a continent, camping where night overtook him under blanketing of snow-drifts, who rose step by step from trader on the east coast to commissioner on the west? And this Donald Smith became Lord Strathcona, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

*From "The Story of the Trapper," by Agnes C. Laut. \$1.25. Appleton & Co.: New York.

Men bold in action and conservative in traditions have ruled the company. The governor resident in England is now represented by the chief commissioner, who in turn is represented at each of the many inland forts by a chief factor of the district. Nominally, the fur trader's northern realm is governed by the Parliament of Canada. Virtually, the chief factor rules as autocratically today as he did before the Canadian Government took over the proprietary rights of the fur company.

The only way to get an accurate idea of the size of the kingdom ruled by these monarchs of the lonely wastes is by comparison.

Take a map of North America. On the east is Labrador, a peninsula as vast as Germany and Holland and Belgium and half of France. On the coast and across the unknown interior are the magical letters H. B. C., meaning Hudson's Bay Company fort (past or present), a little whitewashed square with eighteen-foot posts planted picket-wise for a wall, match-box bastions loopholed for musketry, a barracks-like structure across the court-yard with a high lookout of some sort near the gate. Here some trader with wife and children and staff of Indian servants has held his own against savagery and desolating loneliness. In one of these forts Lord Strathcona passed his youth.

Again to the map. Between Hudson Bay and the Rocky Mountains stretches an American Siberia—the Barren Lands. Here, too, on every important waterway, Athabasca and the Liard and the MacKenzie into the land of winter night and midnight sun, extend Hudson's Bay Company posts. We think of these northern streams as ice-jammed, sluggish currents, with mean log villages on their banks. The fur posts of the sub-arctics are not imposing with picket fences in place of stockades, for no French foe was feared here. But the MacKenzie River is one of the longest in the world, with two tributaries each more than 1,000 miles in length. It has a width of a mile, and a succession of rapids that rival the St. Lawrence, and palisaded banks higher than the Hudson River's, and half a dozen lakes into one of which you could drop two New England states without raising a sand bar.

The map again. Between the prairie and the Pacific Ocean is a wilderness of peaks, a Switzerland stretched into half the length of a continent. Here, too, like eagle nests in rocky fastnesses, are fur posts.

Such is the realm of the Hudson's Bay Company today.

The Canadian Government now exercises judicial functions; but where less than 700 mounted police patrol a territory as large as Siberia, the company's factor is still the chief representative of

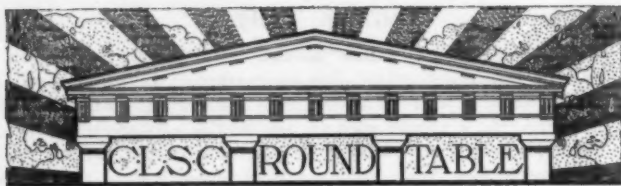
the law's power. Times without number under the old *régime* has a Hudson's Bay officer set out alone and tracked an Indian murderer to hidden fastness, there to arrest him or shoot him dead on the spot; because if the murder went unpunished that mysterious impulse to kill which is rife in the savage heart as in the wolf's would work its havoc unchecked.

Just as surely as "the sun rises and the rivers flow" the savage knows when the hunt fails he will receive help from the Hudson's Bay officer. But just as surely he knows if he commits any crime that same unbending, fearless white man will pursue—and pursue—and pursue guilt to the death. One case is on record of a trader thrashing an Indian within an inch of his life for impudence to officers two or three years before. Of course, the vendetta may cut both ways, the Indian treasuring vengeance in his heart till he can wreak it. That is an added reason why the white man's justice must be unimpeachable. "*Pro pelle cutem*," says the motto of the company arms. Without flippancy it might be said, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," as well as "A skin for a skin"—which explains the freedom from crime among northern Indians.

And who are the subjects living under this Mosaic paternalism?

Stunted Eskimo of the Far North, creatures as amphibious as the seals whose coats they wear, with the lusterless eyes of dwarfed intelligence and the agility of seal flippers as they whisk double-bladed paddles from side to side of the darting kyacks; wandering Montagnais from the domed hills of Labrador, lonely and sad and silent as the naked desolation of their rugged land; Ojibways soft-voiced as the forest glooms in that vast land of spruce tangle north of the Great Lakes; Crees and Sioux from the plains, cunning with the stealth of creatures that have hunted and been hunted on the shelterless prairie; Blackfeet and Crows, game birds of the foothills that have harried all other tribes for tribute, keen-eyed as the eagles on the mountains behind them, glorying in war as the finest kind of hunting; mountain tribes—Stonies, Kootenais, Shoshonies—splendid types of manhood because only the fittest can survive the hardships of the mountains; coast Indians, Chinook and Chilcoot—low and lazy because the great rivers feed them with salmon and they have no need to work.

Over these lawless Arabs of the New World wilderness the Hudson's Bay Company has ruled for two and a half centuries with smaller loss of life in the aggregate than the railways of the United States cause in a single year.



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CONCERNING OUR READING JOURNEY

Miss Katharine Lee Bates whose letters in the September Round Table reported the early stages of her journey in behalf of Chautauqua, writes from Paris that the Reading Journey articles are well under way and are to be finished while she lingers in Switzerland. Her comments on the various possible methods of travel in England indicate her adaptability to terrestrial conditions:

"We went into each of the fifteen counties, and though we had to leave much unseen that we would have liked to see, we did contrive to get in the principal points. It was a very stimulating and, to me, a very recreative summer. . . . We journeyed all the way from Gretna Green to Land's End and made due pilgrimage to the literary shrines. The articles will tell you all about it! . . . We have used all sorts of conveyances—trains, landaus, victorias, steamers, rowboats, pony-carts, and even the automobile, oh, and coaches, of course, and wagonettes, and busses and ferry-boats,—but the method we finally found most feasible in that dear, old-fashioned country was *posting*. We would take a carriage at one town and drive to the next. There is no charge for the return, and it is the traditional English way. Nor is it very expensive, for the island is a little one and the distances are short. Light luggage could be carried with us."



QUESTIONS ON ENGLISH VERSUS AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Much interest will be added to our study of Professor Moran's "The English Government" if we make frequent

comparisons with our own political methods, and the following questions may prove helpful in following out such comparisons. Even if your Circle has no library facilities, there is in every community, however small, likely to be some one particularly interested in political affairs who can throw some light on the subject. Get all the help you can from members of your community. It is good for the community and good for the Circle. These questions supplement chapters XII-XIV.

What persons in America have not the right of suffrage? What cities in America have representatives in Congress and how many? In what ways is American suffrage superior to English? What are the advantages of allowing a member of the House to live outside the district which he represents? What is the place of women in English politics?

What are the hours of meeting of the American Congress? How many make a quorum in the House of Representatives? What is the payment of members of Congress and cabinet members? How are debates, etc., in the House of Representatives reported? What is the difference between the English and the American Speaker? Difference in personnel between the House of Commons and the House of Representatives? Some famous Speakers of the House of Commons.

Do we have anything in America corresponding to "Speech from the Throne" and the Address in reply? How does Parliament compare with our Congress in absolute power? How often does the American Congress have to meet? How does the President communicate with Congress? How do the Senate and House of Representatives communicate with each other? What is the nature of bills for the "restitution of honor and blood"? Compare the rules of debate, etc., in House of Commons and in House of Representatives. Have we anything analogous to petitioning? Which is more truly representative of public opinion, Parliament or Congress?



THE CLASS OF 1907

In every part of the country members of the Class of 1907 are already looking forward to next summer which is to mark the completion of their four year's course. The class has a fine organization and though many readers will not be able to graduate at Chautauqua or at other Chautauquas, every member may share in the class spirit and contribute to it. The following letter from the President will be read with interest:

To the Members of the Class of 1907, Greeting:

At this, the auspicious opening of our last year as undergraduates of the C. L. S. C., we may well pause to consider briefly

the prospect which presents itself ahead of us, as we journey through the fields of England made sacred to us by countless literary and historical associations. As we began with American writers and thinkers, it is not unfitting that we return to the literature of our forefathers, and thus again remind ourselves of our debt to Old England, symbolized in our class name, Washingtonians, which we adopted because of the coincidence of our graduation with the third centennial of the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, the state which gave us the first president of the United States.

This summer at the opening of the Schools at Chautauqua, the speaker of the occasion, emphasized the importance of learning to interpret the printed page; that is, to read critically and understandingly, with the imagination as well as the intellect, so as to vitalize the thought, and make it a part of our intellectual working material.

With our maturer years and experience in the world, we have learned how to be our own teachers and critics, and we have learned, it is to be hoped, to do independent reading and thinking, and to demand reasons and authorities for statements of fact, so that in our C. L. S. C. reading we must use these experiences freely, and go beyond our little manual of literature to the writers and thinkers themselves, and delve more deeply in the fields of history than is required in the compendia offered in the course.

Let every reader who plans to complete the course in 1907 plan to come to Chautauqua and graduate, and meet his classmates, and feel the uplift of that inspiring place.

Yours truly,

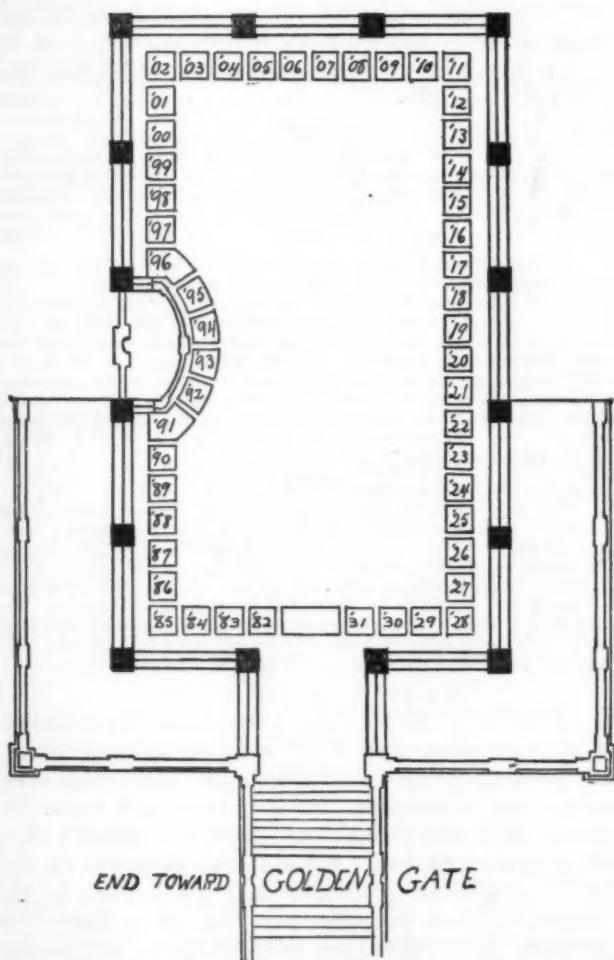
Princeton, New Jersey, 1906.

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.



PAVEMENT DECORATION FOR THE NEW HALL

The accompanying floor plan of the new Hall of Philosophy at Chautauqua shows the proposed arrangement for commemorating the C. L. S. C. classes in their historic order. Many classes have already contributed funds to provide for particular features of the Hall, such as columns, Athenian Watch Fires, the great stairway, etc., but the proposed mosaics will insure to every class up to the fiftieth a share in beautifying the Hall and a place where its own individuality may be commemorated. Each section will be filled in with a mosaic pattern showing the name, year, and emblem of the class. The design will be worked out under the direction of the architect so that the whole effect may be harmonious. The cost of each section has been fixed at one hundred dollars which can be raised as the classes find convenient. The Class of '82, the first class, will have its section filled next summer when it celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. The 1910's are



Floor Plan of the New Hall of Philosophy, Showing Class Mosaics

proud of the fact that their mosaic fund was also raised this summer. Other classes will be ready to report in the near future and when the Golden Anniversary of the C. L. S. C. takes place in 1928 the fiftieth class will have made the historic pattern complete.



For the courses announced on page 250 of the October CHAUTAUQUAN, memoranda are provided. A fee of fifty cents for each course will entitle the student to memoranda and a seal upon completion of the work.



The members of the Guild of the Seven Seals at Chautauqua this summer held several delightful social gatherings and are anxious to bring this important "order" of the C. L. S. C. to the attention of others. Fourteen seals make one a member of the Guild and the highest order of all, that of forty-nine seals, is to be established this year. Notes of the progress of the Guild will appear in the Round Table frequently and members are asked to report to the Secretary both the number of seals that they have earned and the nature of their present studies. No member of the Guild can think of resting on past honors. The address of the Secretary is Miss M. E. Landfear, 125 St. John street, New Haven, Conn.



Members of all C. L. S. C. Classes will be interested in the "mosaic" funds with which each class is to help beautify the pavement of the new Hall. Write a note to your class president or to the treasurer, whose addresses you will find in the C. L. S. C. Directory in the October CHAUTAUQUAN and see how your class fund is coming on. There is no time limit for raising this amount. As each fund is completed the "mosaic" will be set in place. The Hall has been built by gifts, both large and small, of thousands of Chautauquans and thousands more of such gifts will be added to it.

FOR THE 1910'S—AND OTHERS

It is well to remind new members that the answering of review questions either oral or written is not required. The questions in THE CHAUTAUQUAN and Membership Book are for your convenience. Those on sheets with spaces for answers give an opportunity to add seals to your diploma, but they are not required. You will notice on the first page of the *detached* section of memoranda which accompanies the Membership Book that there is a form of application for certificate. If you do not care to fill out the questions on the "Memoranda," fill out this form and send it in at the close of the year and the certificate will be mailed to you. Requirements are few and possibilities many in the C. L. S. C.

C. L. S. C. Round Table

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C. L. S. C. MEMORIAL DAYS

OPENING DAY—October 1.	SPECIAL SUNDAY—May, second Sunday.
BRYANT DAY—November 3.	INTERNATIONAL PEACE DAY—May 18.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—November, second Sunday.	SPECIAL SUNDAY—July, second Sunday.
MILTON DAY—December 9.	INAUGURATION DAY—August, first Saturday after first Tuesday.
COLLEGE DAY—January, last Thursday.	ST. PAUL'S DAY—August, second Saturday after first Tuesday.
LANIER DAY—February 3.	RECOGNITION DAY—August, third Wednesday.
SPECIAL SUNDAY—February, second Sunday.	
LONGFELLOW DAY—February 27.	
SHAKESPEARE DAY—April 23.	
ADDISON DAY—May 1.	



C. L. S. C. MOTTOES

*"We study the Word and the Works of God."
"Let us Keep Our Heavenly Father in the Midst."
"Never be Discouraged."*



OUTLINE OF REQUIRED READING FOR DECEMBER

FIRST WEEK

Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XII. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Acts I and II.

SECOND WEEK

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Dominion of Canada."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XIII. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Act III.

THIRD WEEK

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Road to the East."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XIV. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Act IV.

FOURTH WEEK

In THE CHAUTAUQUAN: "The Perils and Rewards of Empire."
Required Books: "The English Government." Chapter XIV. "What is Shakespeare?" Chapter IV. Romeo and Juliet, Act V.

FIFTH WEEK—VACATION



SUGGESTIVE PROGRAMS FOR LOCAL CIRCLES

The discussion of the English House of Commons in our reading for this month will constantly raise the question of American as compared with English methods. The Circle can get a great deal of help by inviting to each meeting for this month some man well acquainted with American political methods—a lawyer, teacher of history, or other public-spirited citizen. Let him look over beforehand the chapter assigned for the lesson and ask him to lead the discussion. The questions in the Membership Book cover merely the text of the book itself, but other questions suggested by the chapter and not answered in it will be found in the Round Table.

C. L. S. C. Round Table

FIRST WEEK

Brief Oral Reports: American College Presidents alluded to on page 237 in "The English Government" showing the nature of the service rendered by each to the state.

Discussion of Chapter XII in "The English Government."

Reading: Selections from "Our English Cousins," R. H. Davis. "Marcella," Mrs. Humphry Ward. Book III. chapters VIII and IX, or from account of The Primrose League, *Littell's Liv. Age*, 170:407.

Reading: Selections from "The Theaters of Elizabeth's London" in this magazine.

Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

SECOND WEEK

Oral Reports: "Suggestive Questions" (see Round Table) or Review of Chapter XIII in "The English Government."

Debate: Resolved, That members of Parliament should not be paid for their services.

Review article on "The Dominion of Canada."

Reading: Selection from "The Story of the Trapper." (See The Library Shelf in this magazine.)

Study of Romeo and Juliet, Act III.

Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

THIRD WEEK

Oral reports on "Suggestive Questions" or on current events relating to England.

Review of Chapter XIV in "The English Government."

Oral Report: Striking features of the "Ancoats Brotherhood."

Map Review with questions on "The Road to the East."

Discussion: Is there any parallel between English occupation of Egypt and American occupation of Cuba?

Study of Romeo and Juliet. Act IV.

Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.

FOURTH WEEK

Review of Chanter in THE CHAUTAUQUAN on "The Perils and Rewards of Empire."

Discussion: Resolved, That the perils of Empire are greater than the rewards.

Reading: Selection from Kipling's "Seven Seas" (on the British Empire), or "Wee Willie Winkie" by the same author.

Study of Romeo and Juliet, Act V.

Roll-call: Quotations from Romeo and Juliet.



THE TRAVEL CLUB

The Travel Club programs will be numbered consecutively throughout the course. In general there will be from two to four each month.

In these Travel Club programs it is assumed that as the student or club is using THE CHAUTAUQUAN Reading Journey series as a background for very detailed study of this section of England, books of reference will be secured. Therefore many books will be alluded to from which clubs can select those which are available or can perhaps induce their local libraries to secure the others. In general the books recommended will be those readily accessible in most libraries or easily obtainable. For the survey of English architecture suggested in the following programs much help will be found

in H. H. Statham's "Architecture for General Readers." The Historical Sketch in this volume contains illustrations very helpful in understanding the development of English architecture. "Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture" and the "A. B. C. of Gothic Architecture," by Parker are very useful little books. George Moore's "Gothic Architecture" is a standard work for students. See also Mrs. Van Rensselaer's "Handbook of English Cathedrals" and the small books in Bell's "Cathedral Series."

FOURTH PROGRAM

Map Review of Lancastrian England showing the successive scenes of struggle throughout that stormy period and in each case the cause of this unrest.

Paper: Primitive Romanesque architecture compared with Norman-Romanesque in England. See Historical Sketch of Architecture in Baedeker's Great Britain, also Statham's "Architecture for General Readers" and other references noted above in which many illustrations will be found.

Oral Reports: Examples of the treatment of arches, piers, buttresses, windows, nave, triforium, tower, apse, capitals, etc., in Norman-Romanesque architecture in England. Each member should be assigned one of these and should look up illustrations in books or photographs of buildings referred to in Baedeker. (Magazine articles frequently contain excellent illustrations.)

Reading: Selections from Ruskin's "Seven Lamps of Architecture."

Roll-call: Definitions of architectural terms in English architecture. (See glossary in Baedeker's Great Britain.)

FIFTH PROGRAM

Oral Reports: Significant events in the reigns of the York and Tudor rulers of England (assigned to different members and called for in order).

Paper: Development of Gothic Architecture in England: 1. Early English or Lancet. 2. Decorated. 3. Perpendicular.

Discussion of examples of these styles: Each member should secure all possible illustrations. (See books recommended. Note also the buildings mentioned in Baedeker. Illustrated articles on many of these can be found in magazines and in bound volumes of architectural publications.)

Reading: Selections from "The Nature of Gothic" in Ruskin's "Stones of Venice."

Roll-call: Further review of architectural terms.

SIXTH PROGRAM

Paper: Brief sketch of Ruskin and especially his life at Brantwood (see Rawnsley's "Ruskin at the English Lakes" and his life by Collingwood).

Reading: Selection from Collingwood's "Life of Ruskin," Chapters VI and VII in Volume II, Book IV describing the diversions of Brantwood.

Roll-call: Items of interest relating to Ruskin's activities at this period of his life.

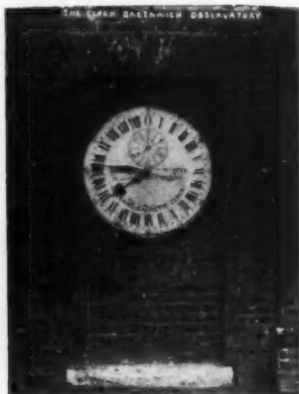
Paper: DeQuincey at Grasmere (see his "Autobiography," "Recollections of the English Lakes," and other available works.)

Reading: DeQuincey's account of meeting Wordsworth (see "Recollections of the English Lakes").

Brief Reports: On distinguished dwellers in the Lake District other than the Wordsworths, Coleridge, Southey and those above mentioned.



Church in Pachuca, Mexico,
where the Chautauqua Circle
Holds its Public Sessions.



The Clock which Keeps Time for
the English Speaking World,
Greenwich England.

NEWS FROM READERS AND CIRCLES

"Chautauqua represents the true and healthy relationship of literature and life to one another. Its students are scholars who are at the same time men and women deeply involved in the business of living."—Phillips Brooks.

As the members of the Round Table dropped into their places, a member of the new C. L. S. C. Class of 1910 looked with some curiosity at a collection of photographs which had been placed upon the table. "This is our foreign day," explained a delegate, "the one day in the year when some of our far-away members are sure to appear," and she glanced around the company to see what representatives of remote sections might be detected.

"It never seems quite fair," said Pendragon as he sorted out the photographs before him, "to refer to any part of the world as foreign in relation to our world-wide circle.

'East is west and west is East'

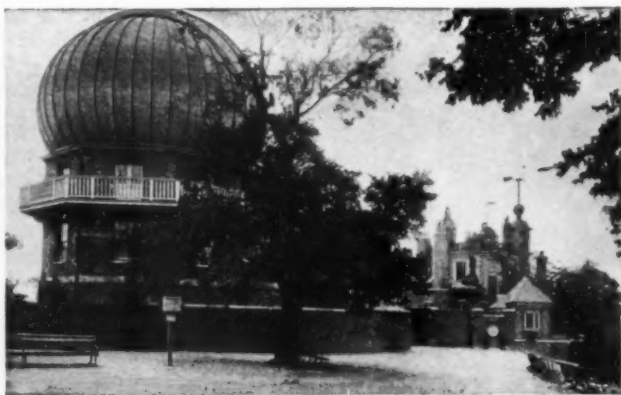
with us and if our studies of Imperial England do suggest now and then the clashing of nationalities, we can also remember for our encouragement that there is a latent Anglo-Saxon spirit of fair play which we may count on in the long run. I suppose," he continued, "that from a geographical point of view aside from the polar axis and the equator, the place of most importance to the English speaking people is that where time begins and ends, so a member who lives



Residence—Lewisham Hill near Greenwich, England

upon the meridian of Greenwich, England, has a special claim upon us—especially as she has shown her Chautauqua fealty by three years of work in the Class of 1907.”

“My fealty dates even farther back than that,” responded the member from London, Mrs. Newman, “for I’ve been a subscriber to



The Royal Naval Observatory, Greenwich

THE CHAUTAUQUAN for seven years. I have the good fortune to live not far from the Royal Naval Observatory, as Pendragon has mentioned. My home is the house on the right in the accompanying photograph. A new generating station has been built near the Observatory and seems to be exerting a disturbing influence which may necessitate the removal of the buildings to a more remote spot of ground. Here is the picture of the historic building and I am sure you will look upon the clock with some awe—for it is a weighty responsibility to regulate the comings and goings of some hundreds of millions of people. I am enjoying the C. L. S. C. course very much and have learned a great deal from it. I usually give about a half an hour to Chautauqua work but am sometimes too busy to do so each day. Although my children and several of my friends read the books, I work alone and wish that I had the good fortune to belong to one of the large circles you seem to have in the States. I seem to have read more serious literature in the last two years than I had ever read before. When I finish reading my half hour, I take the question book and give it the same time, reading the books through a second time. I have visited most of the places in 'Italian Cities' and used your 'Reading Journey Through Italy' as a guide book while visiting there four years ago. I was very much interested in reading the ranchman's letter in the May CHAUTAUQUAN, and hope he enjoys the course as much as I do."



Pendragon opened a letter bearing a South African postmark as he said, "We are obliged to dispense with our South African delegate today, Rev. J. J. Ross, whose letter you will remember appeared in the May CHAUTAUQUAN. This is the time for the second Chautauqua assembly at Kestell and he must be there. He has sent, however, some photographs of Harrismith in the Orange River Colony only twenty-four miles from Kestell, which will give something of the atmosphere of the region. The Dutch Church is a characteristic building and the view of Harrismith with the mountains towering behind it, even more so. The tiny white roofs of the town shown in the picture rather suggest the Israelites encamped at Gerizim! But if you look at other pictures of South African scenery, you will see that these white pointed roofs are a marked feature. Mr. Ross's news of the Dutch C. L. S. C. is most cheering. Let me read it to you:

"I am glad to say that our Dutch C. L. S. C. is still progressing. We have now circles at Heidelberg in the Transvaal and one at Johannesburg and one at Volksrust also in the Transvaal, one in the district of Harrismith, one in Kestell, two in Bethlehem besides scattered members not formed into circles at several places. There is not the least doubt that the C. L. S. C. is going to be a very important factor among the members of the Dutch Reformed Church



Dutch Church, Harrismith, Orange River Colony, South Africa



A View of Harrismith, Orange River Colony, South Africa, not far from the Dutch Chautauqua Assembly



Native Costumes as seen in Bitlis, Asiatic Turkey



Snow nearly Level with the Roofs in Bitlis, Asiatic Turkey

べし。

●韓国貿易 是昨年の如き其額殆んど四千
萬圓近きに及ぶるも内僅かに六分の一の輸
出を見たりと云之れ其旅客の多きに拘はら
ず農工業未だ幼稚の域を脱せざればなり而
して釜山、仁川、鎮南浦、木浦、元山、咸
律に入港せる船舶は二百萬噸を超過せり。
●營口電燈會社 は今日清國人の共同
資金を以て組織せられ其額二十萬圓と稱す
不日點燈の運に到るべしとのこと。

○韓国砂金採集 は彼の陰山に於ける英米
人の經營に成るものを以て最も有望なるも
のとし其收入額も已に六百萬圓已上に達せ
り。

●韓國清道の醸造場 清酒の醸造を以て有
名なる境大塚和三郎氏の計畫に係る沿東江
の水質極めて之に良好にして滿洲方面に對
しての販路充分なり。

學校案内

●シヨトタリ大學生會

其十二「シヨトタリ大學生會」
抑も「シヨトタリ」は何ぞや「シヨトタリ」
とは北米合衆國紐約州の西極端に位する一
小湖なり其字義は同國土著の「インヂヤン」
語にて「湧水」のことなれども此湖の世人



に知らるゝに到りしは蓋し故あるなり。
千八百七十四年今を距ること三十三年前此
湖水の一隅をトシ米國神學博士、法學博士
ビシヨツプ、ウチンセント氏の豪商ルイス、
ミラ氏の補助に依り此地に於て夏期開日曜
學校の邊中と共に神學を研究したるを以て
始まり終に毎年七、八兩月を以て此地を以
て紳士淑女の群集の地となすに到れり然る
に近年に及びビシヨツプ、ウチンセント
氏には「シヨトタリ」組合なるものを作り之
が事業を左の三種に別てり。
第一を「シヨトタリ」集會所とし第二を「シ
ヨトタリ」教育部とし第三を「シヨトタリ」



大學とせり編者は已
に此三種を経過し來
るものにして之を本
邦人に陳んと欲して
今日迄未だ其機を獲
ざりしものなるが本
號を以て第三なる
「シヨトタリ」大學を
記述せんと欲す同大
學は普偏世間に流布
せるものと其制を全
然異にするものにし
て乃ち其主旨は通信
講義に基き大學科四
年を終り試験に
及第せば免狀を
與へ其後は毎年
各種専門學を一
年一年に進行す
るの法則なり爰
に最も注意を要
すべきは其生徒
たるものは男女
老若職業の如何
を問はず入學試
驗を要せず容易
に就學の途を得

Article on Chautauqua in "International Review" published in Tokyo, Japan



A Phase of Life in Jimenez, Chihuahua Co., Mexico



A Typical Street in Saltillo, Mexico

in this country. The only thing necessary is a few enthusiastic leaders who can afford to give time and energy to it. Another difficulty we have to contend with is getting suitable books. I wish that all our members could read and understand English, or that your books could be translated into Dutch. We have chosen a magazine for our members which is called *De Unie* (The Union) a monthly periodical published in connection with a teachers' association in Cape Colony."

"I've become unusually interested in Livingstone," commented a graduate reader, "as the result of our studies of Imperial England, and as you read Mr. Ross's letter I couldn't help thinking of Livingstone's indignation over the slave trade in the Transvaal and contrasting it with the Dutch Chautauqua Assembly and C. L. S. C. which express the twentieth century spirit."



Pendragon next introduced a member from Bitlis in Asiatic Turkey. "We have touched upon two continents, Europe and Africa, and it would seem now to be Asia's turn," he said, "Miss Cole has had some sorry adventures in losing her trunk containing a year's Chautauqua books and other valuables, but in spite of disabilities, she is here to report progress."

"I feel as if the Class of 1906 was still my class," explained the delegate, "though through no fault of mine I have fallen behind in my reading. This past winter and spring three out of our total foreign colony of six have been reading the Chautauqua books for this year. We met and read a portion usually every other evening. We have enjoyed both the Greek and Italian books, perhaps all the more because two of our trio have visited both those countries. The third member is a British subject and a splendid Greek scholar, so any difficult parts are made clear by a few explanations. My work is largely with the boys' orphanages and teaching in the boys' high school. Some of these boys are studying but most of them are learning trades—tailoring, shoemaking or 'mamasa' weaving, that is the native cloth used for loose gowns and blouses. The boys who study are fitted to go out and teach in the villages and so extend the enlightenment which they have received. You may be interested in these photographs one of which is that of a native woman who is in a fair way to become an American, as she is now in New York, the wife of the brother of the man who stands beside her. The other shows how we look in winter out in Bitlis. The three boys, members of our school, are standing on snow which you see has reached almost to the level of the roof of the one-story house which appears in the foreground. Winter before last we had twenty-five feet of snow but last year only eighteen! The inhabitants have never even seen a sled of our type and the deep snow makes horses quite out of the question. It is literally easier to walk along your neighbors'

roofs in many places than to clamber over the raised streets! So you see that Bitlis residents are shut in during a good deal of the winter."

"Here is a specimen of Chautauqua work from another part of Asia, which will interest you all greatly," remarked Pendragon. "I only regret that Mr. Issa Tanimura of Tokyo, the editor of the *International Review*, is not here to report in person. You will notice this page from his magazine for July, 1906, the contents of which you can guess in spite of the Japanese text. Mr. Tanimura is a graduate of the C. L. S. C. Class of '92 and his little periodical is the organ of a Japanese organization 'Shohosha' which aims 'to assist the relationship between Japan and foreign countries' in matters 'educational, financial, commercial,' etc. You see whenever we find a Chautauquan doing something a little out of the beaten track he is sure to be helping along the progress of world brotherhood. Half of his magazine is in English and half in Japanese, the latter for those who do not read English. It is no light undertaking to edit a magazine in a foreign tongue. Mr. Tanimura quaintly explains his reason for using English:

"Now-a-day, English is getting the most fashionable language in all the five parts of the world. By tracing its movement since the first decades of the Country is simply miraculous. The King of maritime spreads out His steamers which touch the harbors, through. There is no exaggeration in saying that the total number of English speaking throats should exist more than two hundred millions. To us it is phonetically difficult, though we are endeavoring our very best for its imitation. So, we adopted the English in this Journal.

"When we try to think what it would mean for one of us after a few years residence in Japan, to edit a newspaper in Japanese, we can only admire and congratulate our fellow Chautauquan upon his friendly international spirit."



"Now we must hear from the western hemisphere, but still from a citizen of Imperial England—Miss Cox of Bermuda. She is a member of the Class of 1909, the Dante Class, with all the enthusiasm of a freshman who has done a good year's work."

"The reading course was indeed fine," assented Miss Cox; "I am glad I did it. I have sent in my questions and the fee for correction, return and grading. I enjoy doing the questions. I wish I had studied my Greek Art before I visited the British Museum,—how especially interesting that book was. I found myself reading William Smith's 'History of Greece' and becoming more familiar with the great changes that took place in that empire. At present I am enjoying 'Heroes and Hero Worship.' How clearly and beautifully Carlyle has shown the origin of the respect shown to Odin and Mahomet. I am still studying Dante. Is it treacherous

that I have grown to love Petrarch in his generosity, more than our class poet? How I enjoyed Italian poetry; for two years I have told one story a week from mythology to my boys and when we came to study Greece in geography this last winter of course I gave them the story of the Trojan war. I look forward immensely to being with you again in the middle of July next year. For one thing I am going to do some work in the arts and crafts—pottery. Think of the lovely old models from Greece and Egypt!"



As Pendragon opened a letter from Mexico handed him by the Round Table courier, he said, "We have several delegates from Mexico with us but this letter is from an absent member who sends a photograph to show you something of her environment,—Mrs. Gwinn of Jimenez, Chihuahua County, who has not only been reading the regular C. L. S. C. Course but taking special Shakespeare studies besides. She says, 'Jimenez is a little Mexican town with some six or seven American families. The Americans are railroad people—with the moving habit. For this reason it is impossible to form a circle here. Words cannot express my admiration for the Chautauqua Home Course of Study, for, without it I would simply stagnate. I miss the advantages of a circle but still derive a world of good from my reading and hope to continue it as long as I live. The only library in town is the three hundred volumes that I have. I send my best greetings to the Round Table.'"

"I am not sure that I belong to the Round Table at all," ventured the next speaker, Mrs. Wallace of Saltillo, "for our club is not reading the Chautauqua Course just now, but we did take the course and it was to me the most interesting of all the various and sundry experiments we have made. I am in hopes that we may go back to it some day. We are trying to establish a library and with donations and the few books we have bought we now have about a hundred volumes. This little photograph of one of our chief streets really gives a very inadequate idea of our town which is up among the mountains and a delightful place in summer."

"If Mrs. Wallace will read the reports of library enterprises in the September CHAUTAUQUAN, I am sure she will feel encouraged," remarked a Southern member. "Trace back most of the achievements there recorded and she will find that they had very small beginnings."

The circle at Pachuca, Mexico, was the next to report. "We have nine members," explained the leader, Mrs. Gould, "and this photograph shows our church which is the center of interest in the English-speaking colony of Pachuca. It is here that we hold our public meetings. We have had a very interesting time with our

studies of Italian Artists, using to great advantage Mr. John C. Van Dyke's 'How to Judge a Picture' and reproductions of many famous paintings. We have no library to aid us nor can we avail ourselves of the traveling libraries but we have the Chautauqua spirit and are never discouraged."

"I must mention before we close the Round Table," said Pendragon as he ran through several letters, "that the circle at Concepcion, Chili, report that they are enthusiastic and doing good work with thirteen members. We shall have fuller reports later. Now you must have a word from a Norwegian teacher, Mr. Olav Madshus in whose letters you have all been so much interested. We are glad to welcome him to the Round Table."

"I regretted so much," rejoined the member from Norway, "that the hope that I cherished of coming to Chautauqua in 1906 had to be given up. I have had to make use of the provision that hard-pressed students may be given a brief extension of time beyond October 1. Last year we had a stirring time of it here in Norway. To speak the truth, we were on the verge of a war. I myself was called to the frontier, being garrisoned in the old fortress of Kongsninger. After returning from there, I had to lay the last hand on some literary work—which, by the bye, was to procure me money for my Chautauqua trip. And even before the printing of that work was done, 'The Blue Ribbon' of which I am a member, asked me to gather some temperance tales for children. That mandate I have discharged only just now, and therefore you will readily understand why I have not been able to set about my duties as a Chautauquan till now. If all this is a good reason for allowing me an extension of time—till say 'Gunpowder Plot' I don't despair of finishing the work till then. I mean to write some lines to the 'Norse School Weekly' and tell my fellow-teachers of Chautauqua once more."

As the speaker resumed his seat a member in the rear was observed looking up the date of the 'Gunpowder Plot.' "You'd better give us all the benefit of your researches," laughed Pendragon, and November 5 was promptly jotted down in sundry note-books.

"I want to read you in closing," said Pendragon, "a bit of experience from a young Swiss girl, a dressmaker, into whose life our Chancellor brought Chautauqua a year or two ago. One gets a new idea of Chautauqua's power when we realize how it can adapt itself to all nationalities and conditions. The letter is dated Zurich, Switzerland:

"Many a time my thoughts were wandering to Chautauqua and in my dreams I was listening to all the teachers that there would speak and preach and teach. I know that there are many people who do not like to see young people out of college studying, learning, reading, and so getting larger horizons and worthier views of life. Nevertheless I am closely associated with your Chautauqua

ideas. They fill, beautify and enrich my life. I have a Chautauqua in my own room—a large book-shelf with many interesting books, and pictures on the walls and I have books and envelopes in which to keep pictures of great men and women as well as little essays and sentences written by great authors.

"I wonder," said Pendragon, as he folded up the letter, "if there are not a good many people nearer to us than Switzerland who might get 'larger horizons' from Chautauqua, if we should find them out, and if there are not others in far-away lands who also need our help. How many of the churches in which you are interested send THE CHAUTAUQUAN to their missionaries in the home and foreign field? Why not send a set of Chautauqua books in every missionary box? We must make our enthusiasm yield practical results. You remember what an Englishman once said of Coleridge, 'he talks very much like an angel and does nothing at all.'"



ANSWERS TO SEARCH QUESTIONS

1. William Pitt, the first Earl of Chatham, was a celebrated English statesman who was prime minister in fact long before he obtained that office in name in 1766. His vigorous foreign policy gave England much prestige. 2. The War of the Austrian Succession between England and Austria on the one hand and France, Bavaria, Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia on the other, broke out on the succession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian lands. The coalition against her was one of conquest. The war ended with the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. 3. Austria ceded Parma, Piacenza and Guastella to Spain; Silesia was confirmed to Prussia. Restitution was made of all other conquests and the Pragmatic Sanction was confirmed in Austria. 4. Warren Hastings, born 1732, died 1818. Went to India in service of East India Co. in 1750. Became Governor of Bengal in 1772 and the first Governor-General of India in 1774. Returned to England in 1785; was impeached in 1787 and acquitted in 1795. 5. The area of Australia is 2 972.906 square miles. Its population in 1901 was 3,771,715. 6. John Wilkes, an English politician, born in 1727. In 1763, for attacking George III in an article written for the "North Briton," he was imprisoned. He was later expelled from Parliament and several times upon reflection was declared ineligible. He became Lord Mayor of London in 1774 and was allowed to take his seat in Parliament where he remained until 1790. "Junius" was the pseudonym of the author of a series of letters written from 1768-1772 directed against the British ministry. The author was probably Sir Philip Francis. 7. 1770-1782. 8. Francis Xavier, celebrated Spanish Jesuit missionary who labored in India and Japan. Jean de Brébeuf, a noted French Jesuit missionary among the Huron Indians in Canada. Saint Boniface, born in Devonshire, and labored as a missionary in Germany where he was murdered in 755. 9. William Wilberforce, an English philanthropist and opponent of the slave trade, which was abolished largely through his efforts. 10. Victoria Falls: height 360 feet, width about 3,000 feet; Niagara Falls: 164-150 feet in height, width at brink of falls, 4,750 feet.



LEGAL TENDER. By (Miss) S. P. Breckenridge. pp. 177. Appendix and bibliography. University of Chicago Press. 1903.

This is easily the most thorough and valuable monograph on the subject of legal tender in English and American legal and constitutional history. Miss Breckenridge proposes and answers these questions: What organ of the state has exercised the power of bestowing upon money the quality of being a legal tender? With respect to what forms of money or substitutes for it has the power been exercised? What have been the reasons for such exercise? The several restrictions of the field of discussion to purely legal and constitutional questions by no means rob the book of value as a contribution to economics but if anything, increase it by providing a dispassionate and extraordinarily clear as well as thorough discussion of the historic background of this important problem.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE. By William Clarence Webster, Ph. D. pp. 526 and maps (19). Ginn & Co. 1903.

Mr. Webster divides his book into five parts—ancient, mediaeval, and early modern commerce getting each a division; and the period since the Industrial Revolution being divided into the Age of Steam and the Age of Electricity. Properly enough the last two parts occupy about one-half of the book, and the United States the major portion of these pages. The author is Lecturer on Economic History in New York University, and his book is the book of an experienced teacher. The maps are simple and usable. Lists of books for collateral reading follow each chapter. The style is direct and the main points in the history of commerce are emphasized not uninterestingly. The book will be useful either as a text or as collateral reading for high school or college students.

THE THEORY OF PROSPERITY. By Simon N. Patten, Ph. D., Professor of Political Economy University of Pennsylvania. pp. 237. New York: The Macmillan Co.

Professor Patten is perhaps the most individual of American economists and certainly one of the most suggestive. In this book the subject of distribution is approached in a thoroughly novel and stimulating fashion. Professor Patten divides his discussion into two parts: Income as determined by existing conditions, and Income as determined by heredity. The first half is pretty pure economics and although novel in its presentation not much out of line with modern discussion. The second half is what for want of a better name must

be called sociology—immensely interesting and provocative of thought but insufficiently formulated to be classed with the first part as economic theory.

TRANSITIONAL ERA IN THOUGHT. By A. C. Armstrong, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in Wesleyan University. 8 vo. pp. 347. New York: Macmillan Co.

Professor Armstrong has attempted to analyze the condition of Western thought and culture at the beginning of the twentieth century with the purpose of showing its tendencies toward a reliance on what he calls the instincts of the heart to furnish a clue to the riddle of life and a basis for religion and morals. His book is by no means merely an argument for a return to faith but the trend of his reflections seems to be in this direction and his fundamental analogies, drawn from the history of Greek thought as compared with western European speculation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, lead him to conclude that the course of twentieth century philosophy will be, even more marked than was that of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to develop a permanent ethics on the basis of the emotions and the will. The book is difficult but by no means uninteresting even to the reader untrained in philosophy.

THE SKIPPER PARSON. James Lumsden. pp. 212. 8x5½. \$1.25. New York: Eaton & Mains.

In "The Skipper Parson," the author, who twenty years ago spent about nine years upon the Island of Newfoundland as a Methodist Missionary, tells the story of his ministry and relates much of interest concerning the character of the island and the habits, customs, and life of the people. One gets also a good account of the work of a missionary among an honest and simple minded people. The book has no great literary value but will probably have a local interest.

A LITTLE BROTHER TO THE BEAR. William J. Long. pp. 178. 50 c. Boston: Ginn & Co.

This little book adds one more to the study of animal life which children of the present day, and some who are not children also, have the good fortune to possess. It would seem as if this sort of training for young people ought to train up a race of men and women who would come near realizing in themselves the notion of brotherhood toward the wood creatures. Mr. Long writes charmingly and this, his fifth volume in the "Wood Folk Series" deserves the welcome which it is bound to receive.

F. K.

THE WRITINGS OF SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI. Father Paschal Robinson. pp. 208. 4¾x7¼. \$1.00 net leather. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press. 1906.

This is an artistic and beautiful little book, of light hand made paper with a dainty flexible leather binding. Father Robinson has made a careful translation from the Latin of the works of this noted saint.

In his introduction he considers the questions of authenticity, dates of composition, and style, and gives a detailed description of the ancient manuscripts. There is also an appendix giving a list of the lost, doubtful and spurious writings, and a careful bibliography and index. This work will possess more value for the Catholic than the Protestant and yet it contains expressions of religious life and emotion that will appeal to the pious soul of every age and sect.

News Summary

DOMESTIC

September 3.—Fourteenth annual session of the irrigation congress opens at Boise, Idaho. On Long Island Sound President Roosevelt reviews greatest fleet of American war vessels ever gathered together.

4.—Governor Davidson of Wisconsin wins renomination despite opposition of Senator La Follette.

10.—Republicans win in State and Congressional elections in Maine, but by pluralities greatly reduced from those of last elections.

11.—An American cruiser is ordered to Havana.

13.—Marines are landed at Havana, but are recalled under orders from Washington; a small guard is left at the American legation.

14.—President Roosevelt sends ultimatum to Cubans giving them the choice of peace or intervention. Secretary Taft and Assistant-Secretary Bacon are ordered to Havana.

18.—Secretaries Taft and Bacon arrive in Cuba; hostilities continue.

27.—President Palma resigns, but his resignation is rejected.

28.—American marines are landed at Havana. President Palma refuses to withdraw his resignation.

29.—American troops are ordered to Cuba; Secretary Taft in proclamation assumes charge of Cuban Government on behalf of the United States. T. P. O'Connor, noted Irish leader and member of Parliament, visits the United States.

30.—Several hundred marines are landed at Havana; Secretary Taft assumes active control of the Cuban Government.

FOREIGN

September 6.—Cuban forces are put to rout by insurgents.

8.—Francis Xavier Wernz, a German, is elected general of the Jesuits. Crew of Cambridge University defeat Harvard Crew in boat race on the Thames.

9.—Massacres are reported at Siedlce, Russian Poland.

10.—Massacres in Poland continue.

18.—Typhoon sweeps Hong Kong and wrecks many ships.

OBITUARY

September 1.—Herman Oelrichs, prominent business man and famous athlete.

15.—General Trepoff, the notorious Russian reactionary.

16.—Aaron T. Bliss, former governor of Michigan.

20.—Congressman Robert R. Hitt of Illinois.

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If you could sit beside me, at my desk, I could, if I would, show you, daily, hundreds of letters from pupils I have helped. I never violate a confidence, never show a letter without permission; but here are a few snatches from one morning's mail:

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